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Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-170
Tuesday
5 September 1989

Daily Report
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FBIS-EEU-89-170 *5 September 1989*

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Dode, Delegation Visits Switzerland

Meets Swiss President, Others

AU0109122389 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 31 Aug 89

[Text] The delegation of the People's Assembly led by Petro Dode, chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, was received today at separate meetings by Jean-Pascal Delamuraz, president of the Swiss Confederation, and Rene Felber, minister of foreign affairs. In the course of the talks, President Delamuraz expressed his pleasure over the visit to Switzerland by the delegation of friendly Albania. He expressed his high appreciation for the contacts between the Parliaments of the two countries, which serve mutual understanding and the further expansion of the friendly relations between Albania and Switzerland. He also stressed the possibilities of finding for the development of relations between the two countries in the economic and trade fields.

Petro Dode, chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, expressed his thanks for the warm reception extended to the delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, said that the visit will contribute to further strengthen the relations between the two countries in mutually beneficial fields. He stressed that the Albanian people nurtures sentiments of friendship and respect for the industrious and freedom-loving Swiss people. He conveyed to the president of the Swiss Confederation greetings from Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

In his meeting with the Albanian delegation, Rene Felber, minister of foreign affairs of the Swiss Confederation, pointed out the importance the Swiss Government attaches to relations and contacts with Albanian personalities. He said that Switzerland is following with interest Albania's efforts and contribution to the process of Balkan understanding and cooperation.

During the meeting, Comrade Petro Dode mentioned the consistent foreign policy of the Albanian Government and its contribution toward the preservation of peace and security in Europe.

Engjell Kolaneci, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, was also present at these meetings.

Returns Home 31 Aug

AU0109141889 Tirana ATA in English 0956 GMT 1 Sep 89

[Text] Tirana, September 1 (ATA)—The parliamenary delegation headed by the chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, Petro Dode, that at the invitation of the president of the Federal Assembly of the Swiss Confederation paid an official and friendly visit to that country, returned home, on August 31.

The delegation was welcomed at the airport by Ibrahim Hamza, deputy chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, Sihat Tozaj, secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, deputies to the People's Assembly, and other comrades.

Solzhenitsyn's Publication in USSR Reported

AU3108115489 Tirana ATA in English 0959 GMT 31 Aug 89

[Text] Tirana, August 31 (ATA)—According to reports of the news agencies, the Soviet review NOVYY MIR carries in its August issue extracts from the book Gulag Archipelago, work of the Soviet reactionary writer Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. With regard to this the preface writes that the publication of the first chapters of this book has been expected for a long time and that "we have no moral right to ignore this author and not to listen to what he says."

In the notorious book The Gulag Archipelago, Solzhenitsyn, who is one of the most reactionary writers of all times, openly attacks socialism and the epoch of Lenin and Stalin. In the first volume of the novel The Red Wheel, published in 1984 in the United States, where he has been living since years, Solzhenitsyn appears as prototype of a fascist, medieval obscurantist, the severe enemy not only of the socialist order but also of the democracy in general.

In the framework of the Gorbachevian perestroyka, integral part of which is also the broad campaign of successive rehabilitations of various counterrevolutionaries, the Writers' League of the Soviet Union reexamined last month the decision of 1962 regarding Solzhenitsyn's expulsion from its ranks, because he took off his mask earlier than revisionist clique wanted it. Meanwhile, this reactionary writer has demanded from the Supreme Soviet to be given the Soviet citizenship and allow him to come back in the Soviet Union. At the beginning of this month the prohibition imposed on the import of Solzhenitsyn's works was lifted and many Soviet press organs informed that they will start the publication of his works.

Soviet Official Comments on Turkish Issue Cited

AU0209172989 Sofia BTA in English 1543 GMT 2 Sep 89

[Text] Sofia, September 2 (BTA)—We quote in full the text of the position on Bulgaro-Turkish relations as stated at yesterday's press conference in Moscow by Mr Vadim Perfilyev, first deputy head of the Information Department with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR.

"The present straining of the relations between Bulgaria and Turkey cannot but arouse our concern. Bulgaria is our ally, she is a member of the Warsaw Treaty, we carry out close cooperation with her in all spheres of life. Turkey is our neighbor and we maintain friendly relations with her.

That is why we are interested in the strengthening of the stability of Bulgaro-Turkish relations. Some time ago the Soviet Union hailed the mutual understanding and the desire to find compromising solutions to all questions at issue shown by the Bulgarian and the Turkish side at the meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan countries in Belgrade (February 1988), which led to the signature of the Bulgaro-Turkish intergovernmental protocol on the creation of a mechanism for solving the problems between the two countries.

In our opinion the Bulgaro-Turkish protocol is still a reliable basis for the discussion and the solution of the points of difference between the two countries.

We seek to contribute to the efforts for a constructive dialogue between the two countries and overcoming the difficulties through political means.

According to us, the attempts to internationalize the problem of the Bulgarian Muslims and to raise this question at different international forums with the obvious purpose to exert pressure on either party concerned can only hinder the solution of the problem on a just and mutually acceptable basis. Using this approach to a humanitarian question that can be settled on the level of bilateral relations would lead to shifting it onto a plane where propaganda becomes more important than the real protection of human rights. The recent declaration of the NATO secretary general on this problem was dictated by propaganda interests and in actual fact amounts to interference in the internal affairs of sovereign Bulgaria.

Bulgaria has repeatedly expressed her readiness for a dialogue with Turkey in view of the normalization and the development of bilateral relations. We support this intention of Sofia's. We are convinced that returning Bulgaro-Turkish relations to the course of good neighborly relations and cooperation will be to the interest both of the Bulgarian and the Turkish people, will improve the political climate and will contribute to the advancement of cooperation in the Balkans in particular and in Europe in general."

Chief Mufti Discusses 'Pan-Turkism' Campaign

AU0209161989 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 31 Aug 89 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Nedyo Gendzhev, chief mufti, by Nikolay Gavrilov on 30 August at the Fatherland Front National Council Headquarters in Sofia: "The Native Land Is Where We Belong"]

[Text] [Gavrilov] Why are the members of the Muslim clergy who met at today's enlarged session of the Supreme Religious Council of the Muslim Denomination discussing the policy of pan-Turkism?

[Gendzhev] It is because the malicious anti-Bulgarian campaign began with the national revival process and escalated with lies about the alleged destruction of mosques, killing and imprisonment of muftis, and slander about alleged persecutions for religious convictions, until it reached the present stage of pan-Turkism, or as the Almighty God said in the sacred Koran: "Such people have embarked along the path of lies and injustice, instead of following the path of justice and truth."

[Gavrilov] You recently attended the conference in Ufa, in the USSR, as head of our Muslim delegation. Did the representatives of the Islamic clergy from Turkey have any contact with you?

[Gendzhev] The opposite is true: Compared with the general respect accorded to our delegation, the behavior of the Turkish clergy was simply preposterous. Despite the principles enounced in the Koran about all Muslims being brothers, they avoided us and ignored us, as if no Muslims whatsoever existed in Bulgaria.

[Gavrilov] Let me ask you one final question: How is the meeting of the Supreme Religious Council of the Muslim denomination proceeding, in your opinion, and what is the main and essential point of your discussion?

[Gendzhev] It does great credit to the Bulgarian Muslim clergy that in its overwhelming majority, it resisted the pressure of pan-Turkism, and it did not let itself be carried away by the psychosis of leaving the country. On the contrary: It wholeheartedly supports the policy of the people's government aimed at the unity of the Bulgarian nation. I think that it is high time to understand the following truth: Pan-Turkism claims that Bulgarians who profess the faith of Islam are Turks. By noisily and provocatively demonstrating its readiness to accept all Muslims on the territory of the former "fatherland," Turkey is actually trying to manipulate all Muslims in the neighboring countries in a pan-Turkish spirit by declaring them "Turks." I would like to close my statement with another quotation from the Sacred Koran: "Those who are trying to deceive God and the faithful do not understand that they are deceiving only themselves."

Turkey To Allow Train To Reenter Country

AU0209191589 Sofia BTA in English
1757 GMT 2 Sep 89

[Text] Ankara, September 2 (BTA)—As of tomorrow, September 3, Turkey allows again the entry of international Munich-Istanbul train 1293/1292 in her territory, announced the Voice of Turkey Radio.

On August 25, unilaterally and arbitrarily, contrary to the existing multilateral international agreements and without sending a pre-advice within the fixed time limit to all parties concerned, Turkey banned the operation of the train in Turkish territory under the pretense that Bulgarian citizens without Turkish visas travelled on it.

This self-willed act, which is contradicts the Helsinki and the Vienna accords and by which the normal railway communication between Europe and the Middle East was broken, was condemned by the international public.

Balkan Studies Congress Ends With Declaration

AU0409191989 Sofia BTA in English
1736 GMT 4 Sep 89

[Text] Sofia, September 4 (BTA)—A forum with significant scientific achievement, such is the general assessment of the Sixth International Balkan Studies Congress, which ended here today. It was present in almost all speeches at the conclusive plenary session. There are a lot of grounds for such an assessment: The scientific programme included 10 sections and 13 "round tables" which were attended by more than 800 scholars. The programme also included a wide variety of topics: from history, linguistics and literary history and criticism to art, ethnology and law. The congress showed the importance of the interdisciplinary approach to the problems, showed that some old stereotypes, which hampered the deeper understanding of some facts of the past, are being outlived. New theses, as well as new points of view toward the researched problems provoked interest.

The delegates were informed of the results of the discussions in the different sections, which have passed in the spirit of tolerance and respect for each others' opinions.

New facts of the different branches of knowledge confirmed once again the interdependence and interrelation between the cultures of the Balkan peoples since the ancient past till the present day. Without disregarding the dramatic moments of the history of the region, it is more important to see what has united and unites the people in this peninsula. This is just the most important political and moral lesson which we can draw from the past, pointed out one of the speakers. The lessons will help us make the only reasonable choice—to built a future of understanding and international cooperation.

Especially in the scientific sphere these contacts are indisputable fact. The question is to find more efficient forms of communication, which was pointed out at the plenary session. That means the establishing of international problem groups in different spheres of the Balkan studies, the organizing of specialized scientific meetings in the period between the two congresses, the preparation of joint editions. The aim is to enrich further the results of the forum in Sofia, to make them a starting point of the future work.

The congress coincided with the 50th anniversary of the beginning of the Second World War—a sad anniversary which bears significant historical lessons. These lessons are recalled also by the Declaration of the International Association for Southeast European Studies. With it the participants in the congress turn to all peoples in Europe and all over the world.

The decades after World War II had set new problems before peace. To the foreground came mankind's concern for its survival, for the saving of the planet from ecological catastrophe, the need to fight for social justice and protection of human rights, to establish civilized relations between the states and the peoples, reads the declaration. The participants in the congress support completely the measures for peaceful settlement of the disputable issues and the efforts for disarmament. With the aim to contribute to the development of this process they will work for the overcoming of prejudices which divide peoples, lead to conflicts and feed up intolerance.

Education, science and culture have great potentials to serve the cause of friendship and cooperation, that is why the association unites its efforts with the efforts of UNESCO for mutual understanding and peace in the world.

The document appeals to the scientists from all over the world to develop further the interdisciplinary studies leading to strengthening of trust between peoples; to pay special attention to the studying of the non-military forms of guaranteeing security taking into account the historical experience; to work for the free exchange and distribution of scientific results, for more open relations between scientists, and between the peoples.

The Balkans, which have been an arena of a number of wars in the past, should become a zone of peace and multilateral cooperation, and the peoples in the region should be imbued with the sense of their common fate, stresses the declaration. It also recalls the words of UNESCO's ex-Director General Mr. Rene Maheo at the First Balkan Studies Congress, that the Balkans are a peninsula of hope. Words which should become reality.

Acad. Nikolay Todorov was elected chairman of the International Association for Southeast European Studies. Noting that the international scientific public plays the role of a catalyst in the strengthening of the atmosphere of understanding, he stressed, that in this respect the Balkan studies congresses undoubtedly have their contribution. That is why this form of scientific contacts should develop further, all the more, that it gives birth to natural competition on the road of more closer cooperation.

It was decided that the next Balkan studies congress will be held in Greece in 1994.

Zhivkov Receives USSR First Deputy Premier

AU0409121689 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 4 Sep 89

[Text] On 4 September Comrade Todor Zhivkov received Yuriy Maslyukov, USSR first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Committee. The meeting was attended by Comrade Stoyan Ovcharov and Viktor Sharapov, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria.

Discusses Bilateral Cooperation

AU0409153089 Sofia BTA in English 1246 GMT 4 Sep 89

[Text] Sofia, September 4 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and president of the State Council, today received Mr Yuriy Maslyukov, alternate member of the Politburo of the CC of the CPSU, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and chairman of the State Committee of Planning of the USSR, who is paying a visit here at the invitation of the CC of the BCP.

During the talks it was pointed out that the two countries share goals and tasks in common. It was also underlined that it is necessary to study and creatively make use of the experience collectively gained in the course of the changes that are under way in the two countries.

Special attention was paid to the further advancement of the bilateral economic and sci-technical cooperation and the improvement of its mechanisms. It was stressed that it is necessary to realize large-scale bilateral sci-technical and investment projects and to extend industrial cooperation and direct contacts as an important prerequisite for the practical implementation of the new model of cooperation in the field of economy.

Some questions of the coordination of the two countries' national economic plans for the 1991-1995 period were discussed.

Former BTA Correspondent Arrested for Spying

AU0409125089 Sofia BTA in English 1214 GMT 4 Sep 89

["Under Investigation for Antistate Activity"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, September 4 (BTA)—On July 17, 1989 in Sofia, by order of the Chief Prosecutor's Office of Bulgaria, the competent investigating authorities indicted, detained and are now investigating the case of the Bulgarian citizen Vladimir Borislavov Ignatov, former correspondent of the BTA in Madrid.

The investigation established that Ignatov misappropriated the currency allocated to him by the Bulgarian News Agency as official money. It was also established that Ignatov had placed himself at the service of the Turkish intelligence service through the Turkish spy Luftu Tokatoglu, who worked as a correspondent of the HURRIYET newspaper in Madrid and, against payment, carried out spying activity to the detriment of Bulgaria's security.

With the purpose of getting more money from Tokatoglu, Ignatov, pretending to be very well informed, provided false and slanderous information, discrediting the Bulgarian state and its citizens working abroad, thus assisting the efforts of the Turkish special services aimed at deteriorating the relations of Bulgaria with third countries.

The investigation is going on.

Danchev-Led Delegation Returns From GDR

AU0409190289 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 4 Sep 89

[Text] A Bulgarian governmental delegation led by Comrade Petko Danchev visited the GDR in connection with the Leipzig Fall Fair. The delegation met Guenther Kleiber, member of the Central Committee Politburo of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; Gerhard Beil, minister of foreign trade; Werner Buschmann, minister of light industry; Guenther Wyschofsky, minister of chemical industry; Rudi Georgi, minister of construction of machine tools and processing machinery; Felix Meier, minister of electrical engineering and electronics; and Gerhard Tautenhahn, minister of construction of general machinery, agricultural machinery, and vehicles.

Specific agreements of great importance for further developing cooperation between Bulgaria and the GDR were achieved at the meetings. At the meetings in Leipzig the sides discussed the coordination of the two countries' national plans for the forthcoming 5-year plan period 1991-95.

Mladenov Departs for Non-aligned Conference

AU0309170489 Sofia BTA in English 1626 GMT 3 Sep 89

[Text] Sofia, September 3 (BTA)—Mr. Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, left for Belgrade today. He will attend the ninth meeting of the state and government leaders of the non-aligned nations, which opens tomorrow, as a special guest.

Court Rules Vondra To Serve 2-Month Sentence

LD0409140189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 4 Sep 89

[Text] A public hearing in the criminal case against Alexandr Vondra [Charter-77 spokesman] was hald today in the Prague-2 District Court. The court ruled that the sentence of 2 months imprisonment, which was originally imposed by the district court in February as a suspended sentence for a probationary period of 2 years, would have to be served by the defendant.

According to the February verdict, Alexandr Vondra was found guilty of a misdemeanor against public order. During the suspension, he was expected to lead a proper life, thus demonstrating that the mere threat of the sentence of imprisonment would be enough to reform him. However, since February Alexandr Vondra has had no proper job and has spent most of his spare time acting as spokesman for the so-called Charter-77. further evidence of his life-style is the fact that he was cited in June by Radio Free Europe as being one of the organizers of the petition entitled: A few sentences.

Premier Adamec Departs for Visit to Romania

LD0509082189 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0700 GMT 5 Sep 89

[Text] Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec left today for an official and friendly visit to the Socialist Republic of Romania. The delegation includes: Comrades Bohumil Urban, Pavel Sadovsky, Jiri Nemec, Jaroslav Dusek, and Jan Papp. At the airport the premier was seen off by Comrades Ladislav Vodrazka, Milan Vaclavik, and Frantisek Kincl.

Karel Julis Meets Libya's Jallud in Tripoli

LD0309215489 Prague CTK in English 1912 GMT 3 Sep 89

[Text] Tripoli Sept 3 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Deputy Premier and Chairman of the State Commission for Scientific- Technological Development and Investments Karel Julis, who is heading a Czechoslovak state delegation to the celebrations of the 20th anniversary of the Libyan revolution, was received here today by Member of the Revolutionary leadership of the Libyan Jamahiriyah 'Abd al-Salam Ahmad Jallud.

The Libyan official voiced the conviction that cooperation between the two countries will further extend, and appreciated Czechoslovakia's high-principled line of the construction of socialism and its support for anti-imperialist struggle.

Karel Julis congratulated Libya on behalf of the Czechoslovak Government and people on the 20th anniversary of the revolution, and voiced the conviction that the forthcoming 10th session of the Czechoslovak-Libyan mixed commission will become an impulse for revitalization of relations in the economic, scientific- technological and cultural spheres.

The Czechoslovak official handed over to 'Abd Al-Jallud [as received] a message from Czechsolovak Communist Party General Secretary and National Front Chairman Milos Jakes which highly appreciated the role of the Libyan Jamahiriyah in the struggle of progressive and peace-loving forces against oppression, imperialism, neocolonialism, racism and Zionism. It also voiced full support for the Libyan people and the conviction that frendship and cooperation between the two countries will further strengthen.

The Czechoslovak delegation ended its visit to Libya later in the day and left for home.

On his departure from Tripoli, Karel Julis told CTK that besides attending the celebrations of the anniversary of the Libyan revolution, the Czechoslovak delegation also helped create preconditions for the continuation of economic and cultural relations between Czechoslovakia and Libya.

Czechoslovak-Libyan cooperation has as yet been characterized by Libya's imports of machinery and equipment from Czechoslovakia while its exports to Czechoslovakia were practically zero. The fact that Libya has purchased a number of chemical and engineering technologies creates precondition for the extension of its exports to Czechoslovakia, Karel Julis said.

He also underlined Libya's progress in health care and the construction of infrastructure, particularly modern roads and industrial facilities, in the course of the past twenty years.

Hungarian Reaction to Citizens' Trial Reported

AU0109113089 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 31 Aug 89 p 7

["(VE)"-signed article: "An Enlightened Return; Reactions to the Sentencing of Two Hungarian Citizens in Prague"]

[Text] Budapest (From our own correspondent)—On Tuesday [29 August—FBIS] evening, immediately after the verdict was pronounced on their violation of public order, Tamas Deutsch and Gyorgy Kerenyi returned by air from Prague to Budapest. Here, according to expectations, leading hundreds of their supporters, they took part in a triumphant nocturnal procession to the Czechoslovak Embassy. In front of cameramen they staged the end of partipants' hunger strike by "putting them back on their feet".

The Hungarian press is paying a lot of attention to the conclusion of the case involving the Hungarian citizens who had been sentenced in Prague. NEPSZABADSAG carries a report on the court proceedings from its editor in which he describes in a matter of fact manner both

Hungarian citizens defense strategy. They based it on the claim that they had come to Wenceslas Square on the afternoon of 21 August as tourists and did not realize what was happening there. (This is despite the fact that the text which Kerenyi read out at the unauthorized gathering had been prepared beforehand in Budapest in several languages). The correspondent devotes two lines the indictment and the proposed sentence, does not state the reasons for the verdict yet he outlines the defense point by point. However, he quotes the statements made by the accused that they are looking forward to being released as well as the statement made by one of the Hungarian lawyers who was present at the trial that the court proceedings were correct.

NEPSZABADSAG also devotes an editorial note to the case under the title "A Lesson From Prague". It states that the aim of Hungarian diplomacy at home and in Prague had been to ensure that the case did not create difficulties in relations between the two countries. In the note it says: "It is good that creative and rational thinking also prevailed in the Czechoslovak capital" and it further expresses the conviction that this responsible policy proceeds from a similar basic approach in both countries. "Czechoslovak-Hungarian friendship and cooperation—in view of their historic roots and contemporary joint problems—are too important for anyone to break them."

The trade union daily, NEPSZAVA, in a report by Evelyn Forro describes some of the trial's details in an attempt to cast doubts upon the prosecution's evidence. MAGYAR NEZMET published a statement by a representative of the opposition youth organization FIDESZ [Union of Young Democrats] which attributes the mild sentence to the innocence of the accused and to the effects of the protest actions. The government daily, MAGYAR HIRLAP, devoted a commentary to the case which casts only accusations and reproaches at the Czechoslovak authorities and their approach.

A serious tone was adopted by Istvan Oszi, deputy minister for foreign affairs, who, despite his reservations about recognizing the Hungarian citizens as being guilty, stressed that an incident should not be made out of this matter which could worsen international relations.

Hungarian Tripartite Talks Discussed

AU3108102289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Aug 89 p 7

[Vojtech Vesely article: "Notice for Party Organizations"]

[Excerpts] Budapest (From our own correspondent)—The national tripartite talks being held among Hungarian political forces, which had been discontinued since 13 June, lasted until late on Monday [28 August—FBIS] evening. Preliminary results from this common search for a way out of the country's crisis have now been issued. [passage omitted]

While discussing the law on parties, an agreement was only reached on issues to which the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] delegation, led by party Presidium member Imre Poszgay, made far-reaching concessions. This mainly involves an agreement that political parties will not have their primary organizations in workplaces. In practice, this means that the MSZMP primary organizations will receive "notice" to quit manufacturing workplaces, institutes, schools, the Army, the security forces, and so on and that this agreement will come into effect in state administration departments on 31 December, in other workplaces by the middle of next year, and in the Armed Forces by the end of next year. The MSZMP has already begun preparing for this change and counts on transferring the focus of the primary organizations' activity to territorial councils electoral districts and to deputies. [passage omitted]

As Jozef Varga, one of the representatives of the reform movement, stated: If the reformists gain supremacy at the MSZMP Congress in October, the MSZMP will change under its new name, in which there will be no "communist" concept, into a modern leftist party resembling a social democratic party. At the same time, they envisage the resignation of those members who do not agree with the changes. If "conservative forces" gain the upper hand then, apparently, the reformists will leave the MSZMP. In either of the alternatives, then, there is the threat of a split in the party.

Structural Changes in Economy Discussed

AU3008100589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Aug 89 p 1

[Editorial: "We Cannot Retreat"]

[Text] Of the economic maneuvers that should do most help to improve the performance of the national economy, structural changes are perhaps the most difficult. The intention is not new. Structural changes have been discussed for many years but no really noticeable results have been achieved. People are therefore asking where the guarantees are that this time there will be more than just proclamations.

Why have we not succeeded in changing the structure of our production more markedly, what is it that binds our hands? It has proved difficult to find the optimal economic solution. In most cases, the moment a certain production was halted or curtailed it became clear that it was very difficult to supplant it by imports. It also was not clear what production was actually ineffective with there being no sense in developing it, and it was equally difficult to find resources for developing new productions. However, structural changes were not abandoned simply because it was difficult to find a way to put machinery, raw materials, equipment, and the necessary financial resources into operation. Behind every contemplation of a structural change there was the most complex question—what impact would the change have on people, what will be the social consequences? It was

precisely this question that was not simple to answer. Which variant of development is the one to choose? The one that is economically effective but, at the same time, has a certain social impact, or the one that is less effective, but would give rise to almost no social conflicts? In such cases it was the second option that usually won. Compromises on matters that had a social impact were among the main reasons why structural changes used to be abandoned. If contemporary restructuring is not to get stuck on the shoal of half-baked solutions, it will be necessary to deal precisely with the urgent issue of social impact on the working people and, also, with the question of where the dividing line between social and pseudosocial security under socialism lies.

Full employment is perhaps the subject of the most lively discussion, also—understandably—in connection with some experiences gained from the reforms in the other socialist countries. There is no doubt that full employment is one of the key pillars of social security under socialism and one must not move an inch from it. It is another question, however, what means are used to ensure full employment and under what conditions. It has frequently been stressed that the structural changes do not involve any danger of unemployment.

In steering employment we will not follow the path of the labor market. That does not mean, however, that nothing will change in the notion of employment. What changes can be expected?

First of all, one cannot interpret full employment in such a way that the economy will ensure a job opportunity to everyone simply according to his own personal interest regardless whether society needs such work. This really was often the case in the past. An economy that wishes to prosper adapts the structure of manpower to the optimal and most effective structure of production. A contrary approach has predominated in our country. The correct principle of full employment was confused with a pseudosocial demand for a rigid employment structure. Therefore, it is wrong to ask whether economic prosperity is at all possible with full employment ensured, whether, on the contrary, full employment is not a condition which impedes higher performance. It will be an impediment only when what is involved is the aforementioned rigidity in the development of the structure of jobs and manpower. However, if our manpower is mobile, adaptable, then full employment is not at all an impediment to economic development.

However, what do we need to make the structure of manpower truly flexible? Throughout the world it is quite usual for a working person to change his place of residence three or more times during his lifetime. He goes where his work calls him, where he is most needed. We have not got used to such mobility. It is equally usual for a person to go back to school several times during his lifetime, systematically learning and improving himself. Unfortunately, in our country there is the ingrained idea that a person who has been trained in a certain profession must go on with it until he retires and that society has the duty to ensure him a job in his field.

We are not rushing headlong into carrying out the aforementioned changes but at the same time people have to rid themselves of the idea that any change endangers the social achievements of socialism. If socialism were in fact to guarantee such demands, then it would also logically have to reconcile itself to low economic performance.

The change of the production structure and manpower mobility bring to the fore the issue of security in respect of pay. The present system of remuneration is unsuitable and has to be changed. On the other hand, however, the idea persists that a standard income is precisely one of the categories of social security that is an integral part of socialism. It is precisely from the question of ensuring a standard income that at time all reflections about changes in production proceed.

A standard income is not a part of the principles of social justice and security under socialism. Of course, structural changes must not endanger people's basic social security. Therefore, we do not approach these changes fortuitously, but in a programmed manner, carefully considering every impact. That security, however, has to be sought somewhere else than in the artificial maitenance of standard incomes. This is socially unjust, because, as a consequence, it means taking away from better performers and giving to lesser performers.

There can be only one yardstick—paying people according to the quality and quantity of work done, according to concrete results. This is the criterion which must be observed when restructuring production, as well as the economic mechanism itself. It is understandable that, according to this yardstick, wages may not only go up; they may also go down. At the same time, however, if consistently implemented, this principle makes it possible not to have to restrict incomes artificially. Up to now, only in a few places was a working person able to feel that, as a result of better performance and greater effort, he would be able—in the good sense of the word—to get rich. And this situation, after all, cannot be regarded as socially just.

Thus the changed production structure will, without doubt, profoundly affect people's living conditions and many of the past notions about social development will have to reassessed. However, in no case can we now afford to retreat from the realization of the reforms in the production structure because of concern for social problems and consequences. We did that more than once in the past, but the social problems did not disappear; on the contrary, by postponing action they multiplied and now a cut [rez] must be made in society's life, one that is much more painful than it would have been if it had been done in time. On the other hand, the conflicts today

are much smaller than they would be if we were to postpone things until some time in the future. This forces us to act.

CPCZ Central Committee Commission Holds Session

AU3108141689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 30 Aug 89 p 2

["(Z)"-signed report: "A CPCZ Central Committee Commission Held A Session"]

[Text] Prague—The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee National Economic Commission chaired by Ivan Knotek, member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, with the participation of Josef Mevald, secretary of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech Socialist Republic, and Pavel Bolvansky, secretary of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee, held a session on Tuesday [29 August] in Prague. Secretaries of regional and municipal party committees for party work in industry in Prague and Bratislava also participated in the commission's proceedings.

The commission discussed a draft CPCZ Central Committee report on fulfillment of the 17th CPCZ Congress conclusions in the party's economic and social policy sector, a working draft of fundamental trends in CSSR economic and social development for 1991-1995 and the forecast up to the year 2005, and a draft of ideas for background materials for delegates to the 18th CPCZ Congress.

Background materials for the 18th CPCZ Congress were considered in a matter-of-fact and frank discussion, and it was recommended that they be finalized before being submitted to the CPCZ Central Committee session. Emphasis was placed, in particular, on further improving the quality of the analysis of socioeconomic development and of starting points for the future period. At the same time, it is necessary to concentrate attention on the concretization of and alternative proposals for the intentions and aims in the sphere of social development, while drafting the priorities for structural policy and the course of structural changes in our national economy.

The CPCZ National Economic Commission further discussed preparations for drafting the state plan for the development of the national economy in 1990 under the economic mechanism which will be operating in the new conditions. It paid attention both to the quality of preparations for the plan and to its implementation, to creating favorable conditions for increasing the efficiency and effectiveness of all work, to improving the balance of the economy, and to creating the necessary prerequisites for the best possible fulfillment of the conclusions and aims of the Eighth 5-Year Plan which is the fundamental starting point for successful entry into the Ninth 5-Year Plan.

The necessity of efficiently interlinking the matter-of-fact tasks of the state plan with the instruments of the new economic mechanism was stressed; this will require an active, involved, and responsible approach, both in organs with a single executive management center and in the enterprises and cooperatives. Under the new economic conditions it is necessary to actively and more consistently implement the principles of restructuring the economic mechanism.

Bratislava Party Officials Replaced

LD3108220889 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1930 GMT 31 Aug 89

[Text] The Bratislava committee of the Slovak Communist Party is in session in Bratislava today. Bohumil Chudy was released from the post of secretary of the city committee in connection with his retirement, as was Anton Cihovsky, who has been called to another post. In a secret ballot, Jozef Vaculik was then elected secretary for political organizational work of the Bratislava city party committee and Jozef Durica was elected secretary for party work in the national economy and development of Bratislava.

Honecker Discharged From Hospital, Health 'Good'

LD0109175789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1747 GMT 1 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State, following a successful gall bladder operation, has been discharged in good health from hospital.

He has started his convalescence.

Honecker Bile-Ducts 'Attacked by Cancer'

LD0309115189 Hamburg DPA in German 1116 GMT 3 Sep 89

[Text] Hamburg/Berlin (DPA)—Despite all denials from East Berlin Western circles are continuing to assume that the GDR state and party leader Erich Honecker is critically ill. As learned this weekend the bile ducts of the 77-year-old had been attacked by cancer. The doctors no longer saw any possibilities of helping Honecker by operating.

On Friday [1 September] the GDR news agency ADN reported that Honecker was "in a good state of health" and had been discharged from in-patient treatment. After "a successful gall-bladder operation" he had started his convalescence, it said in a statement only two sentences long.

Western correspondents in East Berlin had previously received no answer to official inquiries as to Honecker's state of health and the course of the illness. The question as to whether there was any truth in reports that Honecker was suffering from cancer had also remained unanswered.

Honecker had appeared in public again for the first time on 14 August after 5 weeks. On 8 July he had to leave the Warsaw Pact summit in Bucharest prematurely because of an acute gall-bladder illness.

Honecker Greets SFRY's Drnovsek on Election

LD0409110689 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1000 GMT 4 Sep 89

[Text] Yugoslavia's head of state Janez Drnovsek, at the ninth summit meeting of nonaligned states in Belgrade this morning, has been elected the new chairman of the movement. He succeeds Zimbabwe President Mugabe. In a congratulatory telegram leading GDR representative Erich Honecker assured the new chairman of the nonaligned that the Republic would also in future be a constructive and open-minded partner of the movement. He was convinced, Honecker said, that a new and important impetus would emerge from the summit for the consolidation of peace and international security for the beneficial development of the peoples as well as the consolidation of (?its rights) to decide freely and without interference from outside on their fate [as heard].

Honecker Sends Crash Condolences to Castro

LD0409180189 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1700 GMT 4 Sep 89

[Text] Erich Honecker sent his sympathy today to Fidel Castro concerning the aircraft crash near Havana. The aircraft crashed on a suburb of the Cuban capital last night, and 125 people were killed. Only one passenger, who was seriously injured, survived the crash.

People's Chamber Meets on War Anniversary

Fischer Speaks

LD0409213689 East Berlin Television Service in German 0907 GMT 1 Sep 89

[Address by Oskar Fischer, SED Central Committee secretary and GDR minister of foreign affairs, to the 1 September extraordinary Peoples Chamber session in Berlin marking the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II—live]

[Text] Comrade President, esteemed deputies, esteemed Sejm vice chairman, esteemed minister of state, esteemed heads of diplomatic missions, dear friends and comrades. Fifty years ago today, fascist Germany unleashed World War II. Poland became the first victim of a war of conquest that covered Europe and the world as a whole. "As from 0545 there will be return fire and bombs will be answered by bombs". With that bold lie, Hitler on 1 September 1939 tried to brand Poland as the attacker and justify the rapacious attack on the eastern neighbor as an inevitable defense. It became horribly true, what German communists had warned of long before the fascists seizure of power: Whoever votes for Hitler, votes for war.

September 1st is a day of commemoration and of mourning. World War II was the most devastating and horrible war in the history of mankind. With 72 countries involved, some four-fifths of the world population directly or indirectly took part in the war. More than 50 million people were killed. They fell on the front or lost their lives in the hail of bombs: 35 million people were mutilated and 20 million children were left orphans at the end of the war. For millions of men, women and children of Jewish origin the fascist final solution [endloesung] order meant their cruel and cold-blooded murder. Honoring, as we do, the victims of fascism and war, we commit ourselves to do everything in our power to ensure that war and fascism must never again threaten our lives or those of our children. That legacy remains fervent in the GDR, and remains the supreme state doctrine.

September 1st is a day of reflection. Two decades after World War I, World War II was a consequence of the

policy pursued by the most reactionary forces of the German industrial and banking capital in the wake of their 1918 defeat. It was an immediate consequence of the rise of fascism in Germany. There is a straight line from the National Socialists seizure of power in January 1939 to 1 September 1939. That has repeatedly been stated during the Nuremberg trials against the main war criminals, among others by Soviet Prosecutor Colonel Bagrovskiy, who quoted a fascist paper published in 1934 as saying: "It is impossible to imagine National Socialism without war."

What the German fascists had in mind following the reorganization of Germany, was the establishment of a new European and a new world order. A fascist Europe and a fascist world were to be created and all dissenters to be expunged and eliminated. They wanted a Europe without a workers movement, without communists, social democrats and free trade unions, without bourgeois democrats, humanists and Jews. Russians, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks and other peoples were to become labor slaves to the Germanic master race. First of all, however, the first socialist country in the world, the Soviet Union was to be erased from the map: That, to us, is the purpose of the war. We do not fight for ideals, but for Ukrainian wheat and Caucasian oil in order to line our pockets with the riches of the world. Trying to achieve those objectives, the German militarists and imperialists ruthlessly gambled on peoples' existence and life in general. A reminder of that openly and shamelessly proclaimed fascist concept is the German Communist Party Central Committee's June 1945 call upon the German people to establish an antifascist democratic Germany.

The German Workers Movement stood up against the war, but like the other peaceful forces unfortunately found itself split at the time. Their tragedy was, to put it in the words of the German Communist Party, that wide sections of the population lost their elementary sense for decency and justice and followed Hitler, when he promised them well-laid lunch and supper tables through robbery and war and at other people's expense. The communists stood in the front of antifascist resistance. Their awareness of the internal relations between fascism and war resulted in them becoming the most active and determined fighters. The communists realized that it is only the unity of action of the working class and a popular front which is capable of overthrowing the fascist dictatorship from within. That is why they were striving for an antifascist coalition on German soil, which along with the working class with its organizations was to unify in combat the peasantship, the intelligentsia and the middle class as far as into the bourgeoisie, including all other opponents of the Hitler regime, from Christians up to responsible officers and generals.

Anticommunist blindness, nationalism and narrow-minded party and group egoism have prohibited the constitution of such a coalition.

It was the unforgotten Pastor Martin Niemoeller who described the typical behavior of many noncommunist opponents of the Nazi regime as follows: "When the Nazis came to get the communists I remained silent, since I was not a communist. When they threw the social democrats into prison, I remained silent, since I was no social democrat. When they came to get the trade unionists I did not protest, since I was no trade unionist. When they came to get me there was no one left to speak up in protest."

After the defeat of the democratic forces in Germany, peace could only be saved by an international antifascist alliance, for who could not see that fascism means war had failed to recognize that in Hitler's book "Mein Kampf", written as early as 1924. What is written in there was most brutally put into practice as from 1933. It was only in the concentration camps and prisons that communists and social democrats, Christians and Jews, workers and intellectuals joined hands in the fight against the fascist tormentors. The Soviet Union was the only country which, in the fascist night that fell over Germany, fought unflaggingly against the threatening danger for the peace of the peoples and resolutely promoted a system of collective security in Europe. However, such a system could have based itself upon the broad antifascist peoples' movement in Europe and prevented World War II.

This historical chance was missed because the ruling imperialist circles put their class interests above the interests of humanity. Anticommunism, suspiciousness, and ideological stubborness, the hope of these circles to abolish socialism with the help of Hitler did not allow for reasonable and indispensable steps to be taken. They wanted a Europe without the first socialist state and did not recognize the fact that peace in Europe had become indivisible. Their policy of appeasement encouraged the fascist aggressors to give massive support for the overthrow of the democratic republic in Spain, to embark on the annexation of Austria, to divide and abolish Czechoslovakia. Italy felt encouraged to invade Abyssinia and Albania. The shameful Munich accords not only sealed the division of the Czechoslovak state, but also left the Soviet Union in foreign political isolation. It pulled the carpet from under a collective security system in Europe and paved the way to the east for the German fascists.

Hitler felt secure in his opinion that the Western powers were not ready at the time for an alliance with the Soviet Union. He therefore was capable and willing to risk the war in the East. As a disguise, so to speak, he offered the Soviet Union a nonaggression pact. While the Soviet Union saw this offer as the chance for peaceful work, it turned out later that in the calculations of the fascist German leadership the violation of the agreement was planned in advance.

In the notorious Order no. 21, dated 18 December 1940, it was stated that the German Armed Forces must be also be prepared to launch a fast and victorious campaign against the Soviet Union. What was to be particularly observed, however, was to keep any intention of an attack strictly unnoticeable. The aggression against the

Soviet Union on 22 June 1941 created the very World War II front at which, as predicted by Ernst Thaelmann, Hitler finally was to break his neck.

In the suppressed countries the struggle of the peoples for their national existence and independence, for democracy and social progess arose. After the fascist armies' attack on the Soviet Union the governments of the Western powers, facing the pressure of the democratic public in their countries, could no longer evade an anti-Hitler coalition with the USSR. This historically unique alliance united approximately 50 countries all over the world in the struggle against fascism. It is still considered as illustrative evidence of the fact that states with contrasting social systems can and must cooperate in the interest of peace and today even in the interest of survival of mankind.

The victory of the anti-Hitler coalition over fascist Germany and its allies brought freedom also to our people and offered the chance of a new beginning. To all this, the Soviet Union made the most important contribution and the biggest sacrifice. That shall never be forgotten. In Europe the longest period of peace in this century was introduced. The decisions of the conferences of Tehran, Yalta, and Potsdam laid the foundations for the European post-war order. Those decisions, together with the treaties signed between the USSR, the GDR, and other socialist countries on the one hand and the FRG on the other as well as with the signing of the Helsinki Final Act 30 years after World War II, that sealed the post-war development of our continent, are and will continue to be the pillars of its peace and its security.

September 1st remains a day of reckoning. This particularly applies to the Germans. It is rightfully demanded from them to ensure that war will never again emanate from German soil. The GDR, which derives from German history and admits to it, has been meeting that demand from the very first day of its existence. In the 40 years of its existence, it has given evidence of its democratic and peace striving cooperation with other peoples, as was called for by its President Wilhelm Pieck in his first speech following the election on 11 October 1949. The foundation of the German peace state was the decisive national reply to 1 September 1939. The GDR is and remains obliged to the millions of fighters of the anti-Hitler coalition and the antifascist resistance. Fascism must never rise again. That is the most significant historic lesson to be drawn from the unleashing of World War II.

Our state has admitted to the consequences of the war, has faced and shouldered its responsibility, has supplied reparations and punished Nazi and war criminals. Above all, however, the ruins of the ill-spirit that the Nazi regime had left in people's minds were removed in keeping with the Potsdam agreement, and the people, especially the young, were educated toward friendship among the peoples and toward love of peace.

The antifascist democratic restructuring laid the foundations for the socialist development of our state. Antifascism is state policy in our country. It leaves its mark on education, arts, and science. The revival of rightwing extremists and neonazism as well as the ill-spirit of Hitler's bodyguard [leibstandarte] in the FRG and West Berlin thus all the more admonish us to keep watchful. It becomes evident once more that those parts of German soil still fit the saying: The shoot from which it grew is still fruitful.

Esteemed delegates, the work of GDR for peace has now as in the past been met with approval and acknowledgement all over the world. It was and continues to be of great significance within the framework of European policy and beyond. As early as in the 1950s, we concluded an agreement with our eastern neighbor Poland on the Oder-Neisse peace border and have thus laid the foundation for a lasting friendship between the GDR and Polish People's Republic. It was both historically necessary and a far-sighted step, which in the other German state, especially among those who cannot accept the fact that power ends at the Elbe River, is still facing fierce resistance. The statement of our first president Wilhelm Pieck of 12 November 1952, according to which the GDR for its part will never tolerate the starting of another war against the French people from German soil, was welcomed unaninmously in Western Europe. Securing its western borders, as it did, in the 1960s, the GDR guaranteed peace and security to socialism and contributed to saving the European peoples from another war inferno.

With constructive contributions to the framework of European accords and thus also to the Helsinki Final Act, the socialist German state in the 1970's promoted the establishment of a European peace order.

As a result of our courageous support for nuclear and conventional disarmament in the 1980s we helped to overcome the absence of dialogue [sprachlosigkeit] and the confrontation between East and West. It was Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, who in November 1983 confronted the nuclear intermediate-range missiles rearmament in Western Europe with the now-more-than-ever policy of dialogue. He advocated the disappearance of the devilish stuff. We did not want a situation to be created in which, as it was said, Germans merely could look at each other through a lattice of missiles.

With the initiative for the creation of a zone free from nuclear and chemical weapons as well as a zone of confidence in central Europe, with the decisions of reducing the National People's Army—unilaterally and regardless of international negotiations—by 10,000 troops, 600 tanks, and 50 aircraft and of cutting the national defense budget by 10 percent, our state once again sets a sign and contributes to reducing military confrontation in Europe on the threshold of the 1990's.

Today, 50 years after the outbreak of World War II, our country finds itself in harmony with the peoples of Europe and of the world. We are linked with the USSR by a cordial friendship. Poles and Czechoslovaks, the first victims of the aggression, are our friends and good neighbors. With the outcome of World War II, Europe and the world have chanced fundamentally. The possibilities arose for anchoring lasting peace. This, in the heart of our continent, is most closely linked with the emergence and the development of the GDR. It has shown and still shows that the more stable the GDR the more secure peace in Europe will be.

Esteemed deputies, war must never again be waged, neither a nuclear nor a conventional war, neither on a global scale nor in Europe. That is the exhortation of the start of World War II 50 years ago today. The people of the world feel encouraged in their view by the joint Soviet-U.S. declaration of 21 21 November 1985 that war must no longer be a means of politics throughout the world and that in the nuclear-cosmic age conflicts can and must be solved by political means only. The world of today has become too small for a war policy and war. War must be defeated in peace.

While a number of states in the world were able to evade the immediate effects of World War II owing to circumstances related to historical, geographical, and time factors, a third world war would no longer offer such an alternative. As the overall and comprehensive issue of our time the issue of peace is linked with the existence or nonexistence of mankind.

To be sure, responsibility for world peace was and is above all in the hands of the USSR and the United States as well as the states allied with them in the two military alliances. For the sake of peace, however, they must all be united, struggle consistently and resolutely for it, take even the slightest chance, so as to prevent conflicts from the very start and to defuse those that already exist. In 1935 the World Committee Against Fascism and War appealed to the people all over the world in the face of the impending threat. Wherever peace forces are active, small as they may be, they must be supported with all means. Today, peace can and must be guaranteed above all through a worldwide coalition of all forces of reason and realism.

September 1st has become the day of world peace, a day of action and confidence. On the threshold of the year 2000, the age-old dream of mankind to see lasting peace is no longer a utopia. For the first time in history the possibilities of banning war forever from the life of peoples have matured due to the strength of socialism that creates peace because it needs peace and due to the awakening world conscience.

The prevention of war calls for material, political, and legal guarantees against war and for the peaceful coexistence of people. The prevention of war above all requires the desire to assume such obligations. The GDR is ready to do so.

Together with its allies, it has reached a consensus in this respect and therefore has a viable concept. We thus want:

First, the elimination of all means of warfare, which has always been the aim and ideal of humanist thinking. Arms control and disarmament instead of rearmament and arms race are today the requirement for the survival a mankind. The fact that this is possible is shown by the treaty on the elimination of Soviet and U.S. ground-based medium- and short-range missiles. Is it not logical, after all, to promote not the modernization but, if anything, the dismantling of the operational-tactical nuclear means that still exist in large numbers? We are in favor of new zero solutions. The objective of the negotiations on conventional armed forces in Vienna is to deprive both sides of the ability of launching a surprise attack. That is impossible as long as tactical nuclear weapons are available. What we need is not only no disarmament break, but disarmament at a higher pace so that all that devilish stuff will disappear from the arms arsenals. It is through their unilateral steps that the socialist states already have essentially improved the preconditions to this end.

It may well be the aim of all countries to free the European continent, the entire world, not only from nuclear weapons but from whatever offensive weapons there are and thus from the danger of war. That would be an example and encouragement for all the world, and would of course require mutual controls. Disarmament, too, causes considerable costs, and it requires great intellectual and material efforts to destroy mass annihilation means and modern weapons systems without any danger to mankind. It would be safer and less expensive to do without new weapons.

Second, we are in favor of supplementing disarmament with a mechanism of safeguarding peace, which will replace enmity and confrontation with peaceful coexistence and cooperation. The military security precautions that have as yet been directed against nonmilitary security factors and guarantees. On both sides such structures and dislocations of the Armed Forces must be introduced as would rule out any offensive action at all. The peoples are demanding international relations, which through arms reduction more extensive cooperation in the political, economic, ecological and humanitarian fields would create a climate of confidence in which problems would be settled through solely political means. That means, at the same time, dealing with one another in a new way, freeing oneself of prejudice, and refusing to regard any state or people as an enemy. This is what is already announced in the Warsaw Pact countries' military doctrine adopted in Berlin.

It is time for the West to follow suit without any further delays, instead of continuing its dangerous arms escalation programs.

Third, the existence of two sovereign independent German states for 40 years now has become a fundamental element of East-West relations and the European

peace order. Their behavior toward each other can either benefit or complicate the situation in Europe. It is up to them to make their relationship an example of peaceful coexistence and thus considerably stabilize the European peace order.

I want to repeat it here: Both—the FRG also—have a particular historical responsibility toward the people of Europe and of the world to do everything so that war will never again emanate from German soil, but only peace.

That fundamental concern was explicitly laid down in the basic relations treaty dating from December 1972, as well as in the joint communique on the official visit of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, to the FRG on 8 September 1987. Historical responsibility demands reason and realism on both sides. This implies the final recognition of the realities arising from postwar developments, and their acceptance as an element of peace and stability in Europe.

The Federal Republic must drop its entirely unfounded claim to sole representation and guardianship of all Germans, its claims to foreign territories, and the irresponsible talk about the reestablishment of the German Reich within the 1937 borders. [applause] What is needed, however, is willingness for genuine disarmament, for achieving a situation where the Armed Forces are no longer cpaable of aggression. What is required is to forego indulging in dreams. What is needed is constructive dialogue at different levels and in all walks of life.

Both states can work within their respective alliances and help to ensure that the danger of military confrontation on the dividing line between NATO and the Warsaw pact is reduced, while common security is enhanced. Proposals and offers to that effect from the GDR and other socialist states have already been submitted. I need only remind you of the willingness of our national defense minister to meet the defense minister of the FRG.

Fourth: With two world wars having emanated from its territory, Europe boasts better conditions than ever today for purely peaceful coexistence, because of the framework of European treaties and the Helsinki Final Act. What has been achieved through joint East and West efforts goes to form a solid basis. We want to and have to go on in that direction. Incompatible with that undertaking, however, are all the attempts made by certain forces in NATO countries to exert political, ideological, and economic pressure on socialist countries or to give them good advice how to move on, as they say, with the aim of prompting them to gradually abandon their social system. It does indeed make sense for such attacks on socialism to concur with the wish of questioning the current territorial realities in Europe.

In that context, it should be unequivocally reaffirmed today that whoever tries to shake realities, especially in terms of the European borders, whoever keeps launching revanchist slogans, whoever interferes in the internal affairs of the socialist countries, undermines the foundation of the European post-war order and plays with fire.

It is still true what the leader of our delegation, Erich Honecker, stated in his speech at the close of the Helsinki CSCE conference on 30 July 1975: In view of the historic lessons and current European policy requirements the decisive issue is the observance and acknowledgement of the principle of inviolable borders. Now as in the past, the security of the European countries lies above all with the security of their borders. The horrible wars which devastated our continent this century resulted from a policy, which—under whatever pretext—set out on the violation of existing borders and the disregard of other countries' sovereignty and territorial integrity. The recognition of the principle of inviolable borders continues to be the touchstone in deciding whether or not a policy is truly in the service of peace and thus also of people's interests.

Fifth: We share the view equally expressed in East and West that with Europe's multifacted social structures observed, its division can gradually be overcome and a new era of all-European cooperation be ushered in on the basis of the political and territorial realities resulting from World War II.

Whoever wishes to fully overcome the spiritual heritage of the war, and the cold war in fact, must accept differences between the social system without any reservation and take the world as it is. That is the way toward peaceful coexistence, toward a house in which every people can feel at home and live without being patronized or exposed to external interference, in which equality is met with respect, and in which all residents with good-neighborly helpfulness jointly work to render that house of Europe ever more comfortable.

Only such cooperation, esteemed deputies, will have a future. Our republic will always remain prepared to help shape that future to the best of its abilities and on the basis of the solid and steady achievements of its workers. After all, that is in keeping with its historic obligations and its socialist character. Labor, peace, and peace among the peoples: that is how we want the world to be and how we will shape it.

Sindermann Stresses Peace

LD0109102289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0930 GMT 1 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR People's Chamber met in Berlin today for an extraordinary plenary session to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the beginning of World War II. The deputies and guests honored the victims, over 50 million of them, of the crimes against humanity committed by Hitler fascism.

People's Chamber President Horst Sindermann, member of the Politburo of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee, cordially welcomed a

state delegation from the People's Republic of Poland, headed by Jozef Czyrek, minister of state in the President's Office.

Out of respect for these who lost their lives in World War II, those present observed a minute of silence when the People's Chamber president read out the shocking figures of loss of human life in many countries as a result of World War II.

He stressed that the deputies of the supreme people's representative body of the GDR once again wished to make clear to all peoples, through his mandate from the GDR people, that the spirit and deeds of our policies will always be determined by the people's desire for peace and neighborly coope.ation. It is a sacred duty to work tirelessly and consistently to ensure that war will never again be able to emanate from German soil, only peace.

Subsequently GDR Foreign minister Oskar Fischer gave a speech on behalf of the GDR Government.

Poland's Czyrek Arrives for Anniversary

LD3108174589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1605 GMT 31 Aug 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A state delegation from the Polish People's Republic, led by Jozef Czyrek, minister of state in the president's office, arrived today on a visit to the GDR. The guests were warmly welcomed at Berlin-Schoenfeld Airport by Horst Soelle, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and other GDR personalities.

The delegation is taking part in events in Berlin on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the begining of World War II.

Soelle Gives Dinner

LD3108213289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2016 GMT 31 Aug 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—This evening, GDR Deputy Premier Horst Soelle gave a dinner in Berlin in honor of the state delegation from the People's Republic of Poland, led by Jozef Czyrek, minister of state in the office of the president. Members of the Polish delegation are: Teresa Katarzyna Dobielinska-Eliszewska, vice- marshal of the Sejm; Boleslaw Kulski, deputy minister of foreign affairs; General of Division Dr Tadeusz Szacilo, chief of the Main Political Administration of the Polish People's Army; and Janusz Mrowiec, director of the office of the minister of state.

In toasts, Horst Soelle and Jozef Czyrek reaffirmed the alliance between the GDR and the Polish People's Republic.

The GDR has always devoted the greatest attention to relations with the Polish People's Republic, Horst Soelle stated. In the future, too, everything will be done to further deepen the fraternal solidarity between the two countries, which has existed for decades. The close friendly and trusting relationship between the leading representatives, Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski, was seen as a pledge for the advantageous development of future cooperation. Horst Soelle said that with the meeting between Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski on 22 May 1989 and the documents reaching far into the future which had been signed, new significant steps had been made to consolidate the proven comradeship-in-arms of the parties, the general cooperation between the two states, and the traditional friendship between their peoples. A successful balance also could be drawn in the other spheres of the cooperation. This filled one with deep satisfaction, especially in this the 45th year of Poland's rebirth and the 40th year of the GDR.

On the eve of World Peace Day, the firm alliance of our two socialist, neighboring states in the center of Europe is reaffirmed, Horst Soelle explained further. The joint responsibility is being taken and all forces are being used for the preservation of peace and for the prevention of a nuclear inferno. The relations, which are characterized by friendship, trust, and understanding, are greatly cherished, he stressed. He gave assurances that in the future, as well, Poland would have in the people of the GDR a faithful friend, a good neighbor, and a reliable ally.

What happened after this terrible war in the relations between our peoples is an event of historical significance, an historical radical change, Jozef Czyrek stressed. At present Poland was going through a phase in its history that was not easy. Poland was the object of interest of its neighbors as well as of many other peoples. He stated that Poland remained in the circle of the alliance of those states who stand on the positions of the defence of peace, progress, democracy, and constructive international cooperation. Poland is and will remain, Jozef Czyrek assured, a permanent member of the Warsaw defense alliance. It will fulfill the concluded agreements on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance with all states which are our [as heard] neighbors—with the Soviet Union, with the GDR, with the CSSR—with all states with which such agreements bind us.

The relationship of the GDR to the Polish People's Republic is valued very highly. The relationship is characterized by the confidence that his country is in the position of solving the difficult problems under its own steam, that Poland remains a good neighbor, a faithful ally and that the overall relations of friendship and cooperation with the GDR will develop.

Axen Praises Relations

LD0109161789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1337 GMT 1 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A firm will is required to purposefully strengthen relations between the GDR and the Polish People's Republic in the spirit of the accord concluded on 22 May by Erich Honecker and Wojciech Jaruzelski in Berlin. This was announced in Berlin today by Hermann Axen, member of the Socialist Unity Party

of Germany [SED] Politburo and chairman of the People's Chamber of Foreign Affairs Committee, and Jozef Czyrek, a member of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee and minister of state in the Polish president's office. The proven basis for this was constituted by the treaty of friendship, cooperation, and mutual aid concluded on 28 May 1977.

The delegation accompanying Jozef Czyrek, which began its journey home this afternoon, was in Berlin to participate in events commemorating the 50th anniversary of the attack on Poland by Hitler Germany and the start of World War II. Among the delegation were Teresa Katarzyna Dobielinska-Eliszewska, vice marshall of the Sejm; Boloslaw Kulski, deputy foreign minister; and Army General Dr. Tadeusz Szacilo, chief of the Polish Army Main Political Adminstration.

Axen and Czyrek stressed the great importance of Poland's participation in the celebratory laying of a wreath at the memorial to Polish soldiers and German anti-fascists which took place on the 50th anniversary of the start of World War II, and the importance of the delegation's participation in the extraordinary session of the GDR People's Chamber. This was a convincing expression of the high level of relations achieved between the GDR and the Polish People's Republic during more than 40 years of fraternal cooperation.

Stoph, Sindermann Attend Ceremony

LD0109092889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0819 GMT 1 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR party and state leadership today remembered the millions of victims, with a ceremonial wreath-laying to mark the 50th anniversary of the German imperialist invasion of Poland which unleashed World War II.

At the monument to the joint struggle of Polish soldiers and German antifascists in Berlin's Friedrichshain park, Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber; and other members of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany—FBIS] party leadership and figures from all parties and mass organizations commemorated the progressive traditions of German-Polish friendship and brotherhood- in-arms.

On the ribbon of the SED Central Committee wreath were the words: "Our vow—war and fascism shall never again emanate from German soil". Taking part in the ceremony was the state delegation from the People's Republic of Poland, which is the GDR to mark this commemmoration day. It is headed by Jozef Czyrek, minister of state in the President's Office, and includes Teresa Katarzyna Dobielinska-Eliszewska, deputy marshal of the Sejm, as well as other Polish figures.

Leipzig Citizens Demonstrate for Freedom

ld0409181689 Hamburg DPA in German 1709 GMT 4 Sep 89

[Text] Leipzig (DPA)—Several hundred GDR citizens wishing to leave the country demonstrated this evening in Leipzig's inner city. Some people were detained. The demonstration took place after a service in the church of St. Nicholas which was attended by around 1,200 people. The traditional fall fair is currently taking place in Leipzig.

Shortly after the service the demonstrators unfurled banners. these read: "for an open country with free people," "freedom of assembly and freedom to unite," "freedom of movement instead of mass exodus." The banners were seized by members of the state security.

The demonstrators kept shouting: "we want to leave!". At the same time they made the 'V' sign for victory.

A procession of demonstrators was immediately stopped by uniformed police. Police and civilian members of state security stood around the church square.

Shouts of "down with the stasi," and "down with the wall" could be heard. Observers watched members of the state security filming events with video cameras.

The GDR citizens have travelled from many parts of the republic to take part in the service. It traditionally takes place on Monday evenings.

During the service there had been prayers for reforms. It was stated that problems and difficulties should be discussed openly in society, and those responsible should not fool themselves. The relevant state organs were called upon not to punish young people, but to show them understanding. There was also prayer for the success of the reforms in Poland.

Police 'Brutally' Crush Leipzig Demonstration

AU0509071089 Vienna Domestic Service in German 0500 GMT 5 Sep 89

[Kurt Rammersdorfer dispatch from Leipzig]

[Text] [Shouts of "We want out" can be heard] Suddenly, at the end of the traditional peace prayer in Leipzig's Nikolai Church, the choruses are there. Frustrated would-be emigrants suddenly join the chorus. The calls for freedom rise, the indignation can no longer be hidden. About 1,000 people are forgetting their fear of the GDR authorities, many of them have nothing to lose, many of them have applied for emigration and have been rejected.

The scene is ghastly. Emotions are flaring up. Suddenly policemen swarm around. The square around Nikolai Church is cordoned off by police in a flash. Then the infamous State Security Service strikes out of the blue. Young, strong men camouflaged in jeans or leather

jackets suddenly form a line, throw themselves at the demonstrators, and brutally break a gap in the wall of people.

Demonstrators are simply being run over. Journalists are pushed aside, even small children are not spared. As a journalist, one is transfixed by a scene which is increasingly becoming a nightmare. In Leipzig, the city of the Fall Fair, where peace and understanding among peoples should rule for 1 week, the GDR regime is demonstrating harshness and brutal force.

Again and again the people from the hated State Security Service, called the Stasi, throw themselves at the peacefully demonstrating crowd. Sometimes one gets the feeling of being in an open battlefield.

Again and again demonstrators are dragged out of the crowd, taken away, arrested. Because of the many Western cameras present there are no serious injuries, there are only bruises and slight injuries.

Leipzig Autumn Fair Opens 3 Sep

LD0309080489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0705 GMT 3 Sep 89

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—Under the traditional motto "For open- door tade and technological progress" the 1989 Leipzig Autumn Fair opened its doors on Sunday morning [3 September]. Sixteen exhibition buildings in the center of the town as well as the exhibition halls on the fair site opened their doors at 0900.

About 6,000 producers and exporters from all the continents are exhibiting at this biggest East-West trading venue in 18 sections their investment and consumer goods meeting the highest scientific- technological standards. The great international attendance at the fair once again underlines Leipzig's importance as a significant meeting place for world trade. Microelectronics is the dominent theme of the exhibits shown by the 2,800 combines, foreign trade and export enterprises of the GDR. They exemplify dynamism, stability, growing efficiency and quality.

The autumn fair continues the Leipzig motto for 1989 "Flexible automation." A wide-ranging scientific-technological program of events likewise serves this end.

Honecker Absent From Opening

LD0309084189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0821 GMT 3 Sep 89

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—At the start of this year's Leipzig Autumn Fair, which is attended by 6,000 exhibitors and visitors from some 100 countries, members of the GDR party and state leadership conducted the traditional walkabout on the fair site after the opening on Sunday morning. The stands of GDR and foreign businessmen were visited by Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber; members and candidate members of the Politburo of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Committee Joachim Herrmann, Werner Jarowinsky, Guenther Kleiber, Werner Krolikowski, Guenter Mittag, Guenter Schabowski, Harry Tisch, and Gerhard Schuerer. Also present were deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers Wolfgang Rauchfuss and Horst Soelle, as well as other members of the SED Central Committee and of the Council of Ministers.

Dr Gerhard Beil, GDR minister of foreign trade, welcomed the dignitaries. He said in his address that this fair, coming shortly before the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, was essentially characterized by the great achievements of the working peoples of the combines and enterprises in honor of this anniversary and with a view to the 12th SED Congress. It showed that the teams in industry and foreign trade had made the party's policy, by synchronizing word and deed, their very own concern.

Soviet Scientific Delegation Arrives

LD0209153489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1000 GMT 2 Sep 89

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—A government delegation from the USSR arrived in Leipzig today to visit the Autumn Fair. It is led by Prof Dr Nikolay Laverov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology.

In welcoming the guests Horst Soelle, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, emphasized that the Autumn Fair, in this the 40th year of the GDR, will offer a variety of possibilities for the exchange of scientific-technological information and lively business activity and will thus lend new impetus to deepening cooperation between the two countries.

Stoph at Leipzig Fair Views Relations With FRG

LD0309111689 Hamburg DPA in German 1053 GMT 3 Sep 89

[Text] Leipzig (DPA)—At the opening of the Leipzig Fall Fair Franz Bertele, the head of Bonn's Permanent Mission in East Berlin, has addressed in clear words the problem of the GDR refugees in Bonn's representation. 116 GDR citizens have found refuge there for weeks.

During the visit of Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, to the stand of the Frankfurt chemical concern Hoechst, Bertele said that Bonn's Permanent Mission had been closed to the public for several weeks because GDR citizens had come and stayed because they had not got any further with their wishes to leave the country in the GDR.

The Federal Government has always said that it did not consider this way to be the correct one. Almost all of the 116 citizens are young people who have in their worry and troubles, not found any other way. The problems have arisen in the GDR and also must be solved there.

The Federation Republic is also interested in an advantageous further development of relations for the future and wishes to make its contribution toward this.

Stoph, who led the traditional fair walkabout in place of the ill GDR state and party leader Erich Honecker, did not directly go into the problem of the GDR refugees. The GDR is unchanged in its interest in the development of "normal and practical relations," he said. The fact that the two states should respect each other and not interfere in each other's internal affairs belong to this. The economic relations offer a solid basis for this. They can be further expanded and developed; Stoph addressed in this connection the spheres of agriculture, chemistry and the environment.

More on Stoph Comments

LD0309142789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1241 GMT 3 Sep 89

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—Willi Stoph and the other personages of the GDR party and state leadership were cordially welcomed at the stand of Hoechst AG by the member of the executive board Uwe Jens Thomsen and other leading executives of the FRG enterprise. This visit underlined the long-term good relations with the industry of the German Democratic Republic and her trade organizations, Uwe Jens Thomsen said. He took the opportunity to express his thanks for the invitation to the concert on the previous evening in the Neue Gewandhaus. The German Democratic Republic—and he is certain that many who attended the concert were of the same view—can be proud of such an extremely gifted artist as the violitist Sylvia- Elisabeth Viertel.

The chemical industry, the executive board member continued, has, as already during our meeting with the Council of State chairman 2 years ago in Cologne, really nothing but good to report. Trade last year at 1.9 billion units of account grew markedly. This year this positive trend is continuing. It seems worth mentioning that trade has strongly balanced. However, we do not confine ourselves to trade, he said, scientific cooperation too has made considerable progress. This is, in the case of Hoechst AG, a result of cooperation agreements wilth industry, wilth the Institute for Research in Pesticides, the Health Ministry or even direct talks between the scientists themselves. In November a high-ranking delegation from the GDR Academy of Sciences is expected in order to discuss long-term research projects.

A further subject was plant construction. Thus chemical industry worldwide has taken a breather in the past 5 years in increasing its capicities. However, it is my impression that at the moment we are involved in very intensive negotiations on new projects. The talks conducted between the environment ministers Reichelt and Toepfer have also contributed toward this.

Uwe Jens Thomsen emphasized that the future could be viewed with justifiable confidence. The economists have it sometimes easier than the politicians, he added. He wished his colleagues in politics that a number of subjects attracting at the moment a lot of attention could be solved conjointly. To that we wish to make our lasting contribution with pleasure. In conclusion please permit to wish the Council of State chairman all the best for his recovery, the Leipzig Fair a good outcome and much harmony, and to you once more a cordial welcome.

Afterwards the head of the FRG's Permanent Mission in the GDR, Dr Franz Bertele, turned to Willi Stoph:

Mr Chairman, let me, too, very warmly welcome you here to the stand of one of the large-scale chemical enterprises from the Federal Republic of Germany on behalf of the Federal Government. Trade has always been an important area of the relations between the two German states. He was pleased to hear here that the prospects in this sphere were positive. The figures are also positive, they are better than in the past. Trade and change are an important prerequistite for the well-being of the people. We should go further along this path. He believes that that the very sphere that Mr Thomsen had addressed, namely cooperation in the environmental sphere, can be an area of growth in the future.

After Dr Bertele addressed problems that in his opinion put a strain on the relations between the two German states at present, he said in conclusion that he would like to stress for the Federal Government that also in future the adavantageous development of the relations is important for the government and it will contribute toward solving the problems which have arisen.

The chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, Willi Stoph, expressed first of all thanks for the words addressed to him by Uwe Jens Thomsen. We are agreed, he said, that the Leipzig Fair, which the Hoechst company has been visiting regularly for many years, will make a considerable contribution to further development of trade relations between our enterprises. Gratifyingly there has been a stable development this year also, as you said, Herr Thomsen. This is also happening with regard to the further refinement of chemical raw materials, where we still have great reserves, which can be exploited by the research just mentioned. We are ready to cooperate in production and in the scientific-technological sphere, as agreed, and see in this a great opportunity to proceed more quickly together. For there are so many tasks, especially in the chemical industry, which can no longer be solved by one enterprise on its own, but only by international cooperation. At all times we have done all that was necessary on our side to promote this cooperation, and it will continue to be so in future.

Willi Stoph thanked Uwe Jens Thomsen for the friendly words he had said about the concert the previous evening. Art and the economy were vital aspects of life. Economic relations are developing well in the various sectors and shall continue to be so in future. The Leipzig Fair will offer many opportunities for this.

As regards GDR-FRG relations in general, Willi Stoph said, speaking to the head of the FRG Permanent Mission to the GDR, I should like to say: The GDR is still interested in the development of normal, business-like relations with the FRG, as agreed between Erich Honecker and Helmut Kohl in September 1987 in the joint communique on Erich Honecker's visit to the FRG. This entails both states being guided by the principle of mutual respect for sovereignty and noninterference in internal affairs. Economic relations are at the moment, we think, [word indistinct] a solid basis which can be further developed, not only in the chemical industry, but also in other sectors of industry, agriculture, and now of course this links up with the great tasks of environmental protection. The Leipzig Fair will certainly help in this, and we thank you that you are here in Leipzig again, in accordance with tradition.

Maleuda Pays Visit to Sofia, Tripoli

Meets With Bulgarian Agrarians

AU3108134389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Aug 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Democratic Peasants Party Chairman Held Talks in Sofia"]

[Text] Sofia—On Tuesday [29 August] Guenther Maleuda, chairman of the Democratic Peasant's Party of Germany, held talks with members of the Presidium of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union in Sofia on further mutual cooperation. Guenther Maleuda, deputy chairman of the GDR State Council made a stop-over in the Bulgarian capital on his way to Tripoli. In Libya he will participate in the forthcoming celebrations on the 20th anniversary of the revolution.

During the meetings with the representatives of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union, the interlocutors discussed tasks resulting from the agreements concluded in 1987 on the cooperation of the two parties. The two sides affirmed their will to make their contribution to the further development of socialist agriculture and of social life in the villages.

Received by Libya's Al-Qadhdhafi

AU0509110289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2-3 Sep 89 p 7

[ADN report: "Al-Qadhdhafi Meets GDR Politician"]

[Text] Tripolis (ADN)—Dr Guenther Maleuda, deputy chairman of the GDR State Council, had a friendly meeting with Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Libyan Revolution, in Tripoli on Friday [1 September]. Dr Maleuda, who heads the GDR delegation to the festivities on the 20th anniversary of the Libyan Revolution on 1 September, conveyed cordial greetings from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council. Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi returned the greetings. He paid tribute to the participation of the GDR delegation in the anniversary celebrations in Tripoli and said it is an expression of the various friendly relations that have developed between the two states and peoples. Dr Maleuda stressed that the economic and social progress achieved by the Libyan people in the past 2 decades are highly appreciated in the GDR.

On the same day, Dr Maleuda had friendly meetings with Yasir 'Arafat, president of the State of Palestine and chairman of the PLO Executive Committee, Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega, and other representatives who were in Tripoli on the Libyan National Day.

Holds Talks with Jallud

LD0309195289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1417 GMT 3 Sep 89

[Text] Tripoli (ADN)—Guenther Maleuda, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of State, who is in Tripoli on the occasion of the Libyan national holiday, conducted further political talks at the weekend. Member of the revolution leadership 'Abd al-Salam Ahmad Jallud, underlined in an exchange of views Libya's interest in deepening political and economic contacts with the GDR. Matters achieved by the GDR people in the past 40 years were praised as a factor of stability and of peace in Europe.

At a meeting between Dr. Maleuda and the Presidium of the Libya- GDR Society, it was said by both sides that the friendship societies in the two countries play an active part in shaping bilateral relations. Muhammad Mahmud Hijazi, president of the Libyan side of the friendship society, spoke about the activities which his organization has embarked upon in preparation of the 40th GDR anniversary.

Permission Granted for UK Inspection

LD0309174189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1700 GMT 3 Sep 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On the basis of the stipulations of the Stockholm document on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures and Disarmament in Europe, the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland asked to carry out an inspection on the territory of the German Democratic Republic on 2 September 1989.

The GDR has granted the request for the inspection. It is expected to be held in the period from 4 to 6 September 1989 in the Briesnig, Schweinitz, Mildensee, Calbe, Haldensleben, Gardelegen, Gloewen, Kyritz and Stolpe area.

All participating states of the Stockholm conference will be informed of this through diplomatic channels.

Hungarian-Austrian Border Crossers Decline

LD0209113289 Hamburg DPA in German 0735 GMT 2 Sep 89

[Text] Eisenstadt (DPA)—On Friday [1 September] night only about 25 GDR citizens crossed the Austrian-Hungarian border illegally in order to reach the West, the police authorities in Eisenstadt announced this this morning.

According to the police, the sharp fall in the number of people illegaly crossing the border can be attributed to the fact that GDR citizens wishing to emigrate will probably be allowed to travel out of Hungary into the federal republic legally within the next few days. Up to the middle of this week, more than 200 GDR citizens were registered every day as illegally coming from Hungary to Austria.

Border Incident With West Berlin Protested

LD0409180689 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1200 GMT 4 Sep 89

[Text] The GDR Foreign Ministry protested most sharply to the Berlin West Senat about a renewed grave attack on the state border. Four unidentified perpetrators violated the border early yesterday and for 30 minutes threw stones the Sonnenallee crossing point in the city district of Treptow. The lives of border security forces and travellers were thereby most seriously endangered. Considerable material damage was caused. The Senat is called on to take measures to stop such actions in the future which are in contravention of international laws.

Jewish Communities Commemorate 40th Anniversary

AU0409100589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 31 Aug 89 pp 1,2

[ADN report: "GDR—Antifascist and Democratic From the Very Start"]

[Text] Dresden—On Wednesday [30 August] the members of the GDR's Jewish National Representation commemorated the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR with a festive service in the synagogue of the Jewish Community in Dresden. Guests were Guenther Drefahl, president of the GDR Peace Council; Kurt Loeffler, state secretary for church affairs; and other representatives of the social sphere. Martin Ziegler, head of the Secretariat of the GDR Federation of Evangelical Churches, and envoys of other churches and religious communities were also present.

Siegmund Rotstein, president of the Jewish National Representation, recalled the path to death which millions of Jews had to take during the time of fascism. "We survivors are obliged to make sure that the sources of fascism and war can never again become effective," he said. At its founding, the GDR defined itself as antifascist and democratic and thus continues progressive traditions for which many Jews had also fought. From the very start, they helped to develop the new German state. In the GDR Jews are living in a situation of normality, President Rotstein said, which does not give rise to any fear of persecution and discrimination. The socialist German state supports in varied ways the efforts to preserve Jewish life, Jewish culture, and traditions. Thus, many synagogues and community houses have been built or reconstructed. Every year considerable financial amounts are made available to preserve cemeteries and other cultural sites. With the decision to establish the "New Berlin Synagogue" foundation as "Centrum Judaicum", Jews in the GDR have been given the opportunity to step into the limelight of an even a broader public, Siegmund Rotstein stated.

Rabbi Ernst Stein, Berlin (West), who held the festive service together with Senior Cantor Estrongo Nachama, Berlin (West), compared two historical events: the attack on Poland by Nazi Germany as the beginning of World War II and the founding of the GDR as a hope-inspiring new beginning. "The events warn and teach us, and in particular they should draw everyone's attention to the fact that the clock of history cannot be turned back," he said. The rabbi condemned all forms of anti-Semitism, which is increasing again in many parts of the world. Here and everywhere else Jewish people should continue tested Jewish traditions on the basis of their experiences and should uncompromisingly advocate justice, understanding, peace, and humaneness. "We hope and pray that the communities of this country can continue to build a progressive and human society and world together with all other people in peace and quiet," he concluded.

Subsequently, Kurt Loeffler, state secretary for church affairs, gave a reception for the members and guests of the GDR's Jewish National Representation.

On the previous evening, a concert of the Leipzig Synagogue Choir in Dresden was dedicated to the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR.

Leaders Public Appearances 23-30 Aug

AU0109173789

[Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 24 to 31 August reports the following appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication and page number in parentheses):

Politburo members Werner Jarowisnky and Werner Krolikowski attended a reception given by Romanian Ambassador Caranfil on his country's National Day in Berlin on 23 August. (24 Aug, p 2)

Politburo members Joachim Herrmann and Guenter Schabowski attended a solidarity bazaar organized by Berlin journalists in Berlin on 25 August. (26-27 Aug, pp 1,2)

Politburo members Hermann Axen, Horst Dohlus, and Heinz Kessler, and Politburo candidate member Inge Lange attended the funeral of Horst Brasch in Berlin on 29 August. (30 Aug, p 2)

Werner Krolikowski, Politburo member and secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee (SED CC), attended a conference of the Academy of Agricultural Sciences in Berlin on 28 August. (29 Aug, pp 1,3)

Guenter Schabowski, Politburo member and secretary of the SED CC, attended a commemorative event for communist and resistance fighter Robert Uhrig in Berlin on 26 August. (28 Aug, p 2)

Harry Tisch, Politburo member and chairman of the Central Council of the Free German Trade Union Federation, received a delegation of the General Council of the Japanese Trade Unions in Berlin on 28 August. (29 Aug, p 2)

Inge Lange, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED CC, attended a reception given by Uruguayan Ambassador Leslie H. Close-Pozzo on his country's National Day in Berlin on 25 August. (26-27 Aug, p 2)

Further Reportage on GDR Refugee Controversy

Evacuation From Budapest Begins

LD0109144189 Hamburg DPA in German 1402 GMT 1 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest (DPA)—The evacuation of the first GDR refugees from Budapest began this afternoon. According to information from the Hungarian Red Cross, they are bused to the Zanka camp on Lake Balaton, which was not opened until today. But they are not to leave Hungary this weekend, a spokeswoman from the Hungarian Red Cross added. Zanka is connected to the railway network.

It is a question of the inhabitants of Csilliberc camp in the Buda mountains. This Budapest camp, where mainly younger GDR citizens are housed, is at the same time being occupied by new refugees. The number of those waiting to leave the country in Budapest is estimated at about 4,000.

Other GDR citizens in western Hungary were accommodated in Zanka on Lake Balaton, the spokeswoman said. Zanka has a capacity of 3000 people.

50 More Refugees Flee

LD0309103689 Hamburg DPA in German 0817 GMT 3 Sep 89

[Text] Vienna (DPA)—According to Austrian radio about 50 GDR citizens fled from Hungary to Burgenland during the night.

Some of them reported that in the camps for GDR refugees in Hungary it is reckoned that the legal mass exist will begin this coming Tuesday.

At present several thousand GDR citizens are waiting in Hungary to depart to the West. In the Federal Republic they are preparing themselves to receive up to 20,000 GDR citizens in the next few days.

Emigration To Begin 4 Sep

LD0309180289 Budapest Radio Danubius in German 1630 GMT 3 Sep 89

[Text] Tomorrow, the emigration of several thousand GDR refugees from Hungary will begin. Preparations are going ahead at top speed. Over the weekend, about 75 GDR citizens crossed the Green Frontier between Hungary and Austria.

Emigration Reports Denied

LD0309214289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 3 Sep 89

[Text] The Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs is officially denying reports emanating from Bonn according to which GDR refugees staying in Hungary will be allowed to travel to Vienna on Monday on humanitarian grounds. According to the Deutschlandfunk radio station, altogether 4,000 GDR citizens are waiting in Budapest and Zanka for a permit to travel across. Since the beginning of August, a total of 5,000 GDR citizens have arrived in the FRG from Hungary, the FRG stated.

The president of the German Social Democratic Party has supported the Bonn cabinet's policy in this affair so far, and he also emphasized that even in light of the rigid attitude of the GDR leadership, inter-German relations must not be narrowed. Hans-Jochen Vogel has given a statement on the occasion of his visit to one of the emergency camps of the resettlers.

The head of the FRG's permanent mission to Berlin believes that the mass exodus has been helped by the GDR leadership's resistance to reforms.

'Exodus' Still Awaited

LD0409113689 Hamburg DPA in German 1057 GMT 4 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest (DPA)—In Hungary the surge of GDR citizens to the refugee camps near the frontier with Austria which has been expected for days, failed to materialize today. Representatives of the Hungarian branch of the Maltese aid service stated to journalists in the vicarage garden of Zugliget in Budapest that so far approximately 4,700 GDR citizens who wish to emigrate have been registered in the camps in the capital, in Zanka on Lake Balaton, and in private accommodations.

The aid organization does not know of a date for the exodus. Rumors speak of "Wednesday at the earliest". Workers for the Maltese service and the West German embassy in Budapest referred to the fact that it is now a matter of waiting for a decision from the Hungarian government. An action at dead of night was ruled out at the press conference. The departure should take place "early in the morning" and pass "humanely".

Meanwhile 800 camp inhabitants from the GDR have asked the Hungarian government for a "positive solution" in an open letter. They thanked the government for their "sympathetic reception" and the population for their support. They emphasized further the "self-sacrificing activities" of the Maltese. The letter was conveyed to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry on Friday.

Minister Says FRG, GDR Must Agree

LD0409134689 Hamburg DPA in German 1242 GMT 4 Sep 89

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—Hungary's Interior Minister Istvan Horvath has indicated that an understanding between Bonn and East Berlin will be a prerequisite for the deparutre of East German refugees from his country, dampening hopes for a speedy solution of the problem. Speaking to the Hamburg-based magazine STERN, Horvath said: "We cannot and will not permit a cloak-and-dagger operation." The minister described as false

West German reports that 15,000-20,000 refugees would be allowed to leave Hungary en masse in the next few days. When asked whether East Germans would be allowed to leave in an orderly manner and in stages, he answered: "No, East and West Germany first have to agree on this." The solution of the problem might "perhaps take 1-1 and ½ months."

The solution rests with Bonn and East Berlin, Horvath said. "First the Federal Republic has to negotiate with the GDR and come to an agreement. That is not Hungary's job. We should not be the ones to persuade the GDR to agree to a solution. The Federal Republic should do this." It is not possible "at the moment" for GDR citizens to leave Hungary with West German passports issued by the Federal Republic's embassy in Budapest. "If that were to happen, we would be acknowledging Bonn's treatment of GDR citizens as its own citizens. We have an agreement with the GDR. As far as we are concerned, the GDR has sovereignty over its own citizens."

Horvath said leaving the country with documents issued by the Red Cross, as in the case of the 104 East Germans occupying the West German embassy in Budapest, is no solution. "What has proven itself in the case of 10, 20, or 100 people cannot be applied to thousands or tens of thousands." Horvath described as realistic the estimate that 20,000 GDR citizens on vacation want to emigrate to the West.

More From Horvath

LD0509053689 Budapest MTI in English 2351 GMT 4 Sep 89

[Text] Bonn, September 4 (MTI)—The FRG and the GDR should first agree with each other so that the GDR citizens currently staying in Hungary and wishing to re-settle in the FRG to [as received] be able to leave Hungary in an orderly manner. The problem will surely not be solved from one day to the next. For our part, we do everything possible to promote negotiations, and will continue to act in this manner in the future. This was what Hungarian minister of home affairs, Istvan Horvath, said in a statement to the FRG magazine "STERN".

The editorial offices of the weekly supplied the text of the interview, which is to appear this Thursday [7 September], to MTIs Bonn offices.

The Hungarian minister termed as false the guesses that 15,000-20,000 GDR refugees will be able to leave the country in the coming days. Mr Horvath recalled that the Hungarian Government had immediately denied this so as to prevent futile hopes. We cannot, and shall not, allow any secret action, Mr Horvath said.

According to the minister, it cannot be forecast how long the GDR citizens will have to stay in the Budapest camps. They have now been waiting or a month, and could have to wait as long as another one or one-and-a-half months. "I would not like this situation to continue much longer", he noted.

Mr Horvath said that for the time being, the issuing of FRG passports by the FRG Embassy is not a possible avenue for their leaving, as with this Hungary would be acknowledging that Bonn treats the GDR citizens as its own citizens.

We have an agreement with the GDR, and for us, the GDR has sovereignty with respect to its citizens. Hungary cannot solve this problem. Therefore, at present, Hungary does not recognize the passports issued by the FRG Embassy in this way.

In answer to STERN's question about the pressure being exerted by the GDR on Hungary to hold back the mass exodus, the Hungarian minister of home affairs said:

Naturally, no country in the world would welcome it if several tens of thousands of its citizens did not wish to return home. The GDR is doing everything in its power to find a solution that is suitable for Hungary, too. In this sense, Hungary is under no pressure from the GDR. The key to the question lies in Bonn and Berlin....

Party Reform Circles' National Conference Begins

Meets in Budapest

LD0209112789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 2 Sep 89

[Text] The national conference of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] reform circles and reform cells commenced at 9 this morning in Budapest, Jozsef Laszlo reports.

[Laszlo] The national conference in Budapest started with much pathos and dramatic appeals. One of the chief organizers, Peter Szechenyi, encouraged the approximately 400 delegates and observers, saying that the historical significance of the conference depended on them.

Attila Agh, one of the chairmen of the conference, opened the session saying that the reform circles are not just the particular products of an intensified crisis situation, but also wish to be the creators of history. The reform movement stands before a great test, said Attila Agh, for at the forthcoming congress a breakthrough must be achieved for the party to become a new party. At the same time this presupposes that the reform wing should sharply distance itself from the conservatives, those who proceed in a ponderous way, who must be convinced that their stance has been overtaken by time.

At the same time, the compromised persons must be discharged, for society judges the HSWP on the basis of the old set.

The chances of an open rollback are slight, but fears increase this chance. This has been proven by recent

days. There are many who wish to salvage conservative ideas in the name of continuity, said the philosopher [Agh], according to whom the conference must focus on the substantive preparation of the party congress.

What happened at the HSWP Central Committee session yesterday? This was one of the most interesting non-agenda points of the reform circles' conference. Budapest First Secretary Mihaly Jasso said that they had primarily spoken about the delegation taking part in the national roundtable talks. In the central committee debate, they confirmed the further mandate of the delegation, its personnel composition, and evaluated its activity to date as being successful.

According to Mihaly Jasso, the stance which developed in the debate was that they should not lay down a condition that the party organization should either go or stay in the workplace. The base organization itself should decide on this. At the same time, no party should be a part of production leadership.

The deteriorated relations with the trade unions were also discussed at the session. Mihaly Jasso, speaking about this, said that the HSWP does not have a standard trade union policy. He also said that they had postponed the debate on the resignation of Sandor Nagy [general secretary of National Council of Trade Unions, SZOT] and the leader of the Miners' Trade Union. Therefore, this is somewhat different information from that which the SZOT spokesman had given this morning. The conference continued with proposals for the agenda, there was a debate, committees were elected, and the sections were formed.

Tomorrow morning at 1100 [0900 GMT] there will be a rally in the Buda park theatre, at which Rezso Nyers and Imre Pozsgay will speak.

Nemeth on President's Office

LD0209211989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 2 Sep 89

[Text] Miklos Nemeth has denied that the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP] Central Committee has decided to bring forward the elections. The premier, who is a member of the four-man Presidium of his party, gave a speech at the dinner held after the session of the national conference of reform circles. He spoke among other things about the session of the Central Committee held yesterday, saying that the body adopted a stance in favor of introducing the office of President of the Republic.

[Begin Nemeth recording] We are sending the negotiating delegation to Monday's discussions with the instruction that we are insisting on introducing the office of President of the Republic, on establishing it through a referendum, preferably as soon as possible but at the latest simultaneously with the parliamentary elections. [end recording]

The premier took a firm stance on the side of reforms. He emphasized that at the October Congress the MSZMP will have to renew itself, including with regard to the personal composition of the leadership. Then he spoke in detail about the two main political tendencies inside the party.

[Begin Nemeth recording] One strong line wants to make a radical break with the model which existed up to now, wants to break with the proto-communistic or proto-Bolshevik ideas and traditions: it professes the European or universal fundamental bourgeois rights of freedom and unites these with the socialist social ideas and system of values; it strongly affirms its adherence to Europe and includes this in its program, and wants to act for this in every sphere.

The other line also proclaims reforms, but wants to carry out these reforms in the same way as up to now, that is, with many kinds of compromises, more slowly, and occasionally in a populist way; it does not break with the ideologies which for the sake of simplicity I just now called communist or proto-Bolshevik system of values, it does not understand and does not accept the need for radical changes, and at times wants to, and is capable of, creating alliances with circles which profess ultra-left ideas and practices.

A party which wants to solve these differences through compromises will not be a party that has renewed itself [applause], it cannot look confidently forward to open, free, and democratic elections, expecting to win. In order to achieve this, the congress will have, besides its responsibility to create a program, statutes and rules of functioning, a no lesser responsibility for raising to the leading bodies of the party credible, morally pure, new personalities, who are not burdened with the mistakes and crimes of the past, so that we should be abie to regain the trust of society and of the people.

We cannot carry out the work of the Congress with people who are burdened with various faults or who are morally impure. However, I would like to add that I am not calling for a witch-hunt. We can prove our European identity by leaving it, in a civilized fashion, up to everyone to choose freely whether he agrees with this renewed party and renewed program. Let them found other parties and let them leave in a cultured way, not with their heads bowed and not as scapegoats.

I regard the program of the reform circles as an effective and attractive platform because it wants to integrate and represent every progressive value, from whichever ideological tendency they may come from, from the left or from the right, and this is the guarantee that we shall become a genuinely movement-oriented and politicizing party. [end recording]

Considers Elections

LD0309132289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 3 Sep 89

[Text] The second national conference of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] reform circles is continuing in Budapest. Jozsef Laszlo reports:

[Laszlo] What will the reform circles do if the reform forces do not win at the MSZMP's October congress? This was perhaps the most interesting question at the Budapest national conference, which continued with a plenary session. The question was not on the agenda, but determined the morning's debate. There were those who demanded that they should begin organizing the new democratic socialist party, but several people opposed this, saying that there was time to leave after the congress. There were those who urged the winning over of other reform forces inside and outside the party for their standpoint. There were those who objected that it is obvious that the great party of congress delegates are once again made up of the ranks of the old set.

The reform circles are already thinking about the parliamentary elections, with the opinion that the electorial battle is in practice already underway now. The letter sent to the membership states: There must be a definitive break with the Stalinist model which is guilty of failure.

After Attila Agh's summary of the debate, they voted in a majority that they should undertake legal continuity with the MSZMP, but in such a way that at the congress a new party is created, with new membership relations. Apart from this, they also voted, with a decisive majority for, in substance, a needed change of system, which means that the reform circles do not consider the model up to now to be socialist, and a socialist society must be constructed in this sense.

The rally commenced after the summary of the debate. Here, Rezso Nyers and Imre Pozsgay will also make speeches.

Need for Changes

LD0309153889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 3 Sep 89

[Text] For the renewal of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP] new organizational forms are needed, and the shaping of these has already begun, said Rezso Nyers, party chairman, at the MSZMP reform circles' national conference which ended today. He stressed that the model change must be carried out in such a manner that it radically changes the economic and political system. According to Reszo Nyers, the danger of a rollback is threatening from two sides. On the one hand, within the MSZMP there are those who would like to return to Stalinism. On the other side, however, within society, too, there exist forces which would like to see the pre-1945 conditions in Hungary.

Minister of State Imre Pozsgay also expressed similar thoughts. He said that within the party at present the reformers are in the minority, but their most important task is to convince the still wavering party members.

At the conference, they adopted the letter which the reform circles have addressed to the party membership and the congress delegates. In this, they emphasised that they want to create a party which will break with state socialism and bureaucratic centralism.

They took a decision on the draft statutes relating to the MSZMP's organizational structure and operations. In this they urged that the congress change the name of the MSZMP.

Letter Sent to Members

LD0309193389 Budapest MTI in English 1610 GMT 3 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 3 (MTI)—The 2d national conference of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] reform circles continued with a debate on the draft platform on Sunday morning. Participants, among them Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, and Imre Pozsgay, member of the HSWP Presidium, adopted the sketch of a letter to be addressed to party members and congressional delegates.

The letter says that the party's future will be at stake during the forthcoming congress. The reform circles want to set up a socialist party which is managed by the membership, which breaks with the practice of bureaucratic centralization, which is able to create a modern Hungary of European standard together with all political and intellectual forces ready for cooperation.

The document points out that state socialism and the state-party have put the country at a historic stalemate, and now efforts should be made to find a way out of the historic crisis and do away with the Stalinist model once and for all. The membership expects the congressional delegates to elect only creditworthy persons into the party's leading bodies, politicians who are widely known for their personal aptitude, reform-minded approach and moral purity, people who do not use the party for their own ends.

The draft rules on the party's organization and operation were presented to the delegates at the beginning of the plenary session. The document says that the congress should change the party's name, but the national conference of reform circles and reform basic organization have no concrete proposal concerning the new name.

Call for Political Pluralism

LD0309180489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 3 Sep 89

[Text] At the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] reform circles' two-day conference, which ended today, a 26-member national coordination

council has been created. They adopted, and in due course will publish, their platform, which has just been approved. At the mass rally, Rezso Nyers, party chairman, and Imre Pozsgay, Presidium member, delivered speeches. We quote from them:

[Begin Nyers recording] What kind of party do the Hungarian people, the workers, the development of Hungarian democracy, need today? The answer, which says that they need a new socialist party, is just and correct. The MSZMP leadership, too, is working on creating a new socialist party. In the reform circles they are debating a new socialist party, and in the party's other currents as well, which likewise are seeking the best solutions from the viewpoint of the present and the future.

We have to recognise that the centrally over-regulated economy is impeding the realization of our national economic capability; but it has also impeded our ability to assert the interests of the masses in the economic issues. It has been proven that it is impossible to pursue a real workers' policy [igazi munkas Politika]—or a socialist policy—amid our centrally over-regulated economic conditions.

And the second lesson is that it is impossible to attain social justice, in its own concrete terms, nor is it possible to achieve correct action, along the path of economic, political, and cultural monopolies, and with the undisturbed assertion of the role of these monopolies.

We ourselves, when we form ourselves anew—and as we are today; when we become a new socialist party—of a new type—not even then can we think that we shall have a monopoly on social justice at every time and in every place. But we can claim—and we do claim—that we represent great truths in Hungarian society. And this must be given expression.

That in which we have lived up until now, and in which we live at present, and from which many things will be retained in the future, in my opinion can not be described as socialism from the formation-theoretical viewpoint. [applause] [end recording]

[Begin Pozsgay recording] As we approach the party congress, the time for professing one's colors is also here. (?The question is), who belongs where; what does he undertake in this struggle? Or let others decide what they deem him capable of in this struggle.

Within the party there is no possibility for conciliation, or agreement, between those according to whom the earth is flat and stands at the center of the universe, and those who think that it is round and revolves around its own axis and around the sun. Here there is a need for a Copernican turnabout. [applause]

On this basis we shall be able to win esteem and respect, with, I believe a still wavering but large majority, in our entire party, and (?we shall be able) to create a basis for national discussion.

Let it be permitted to also think that the earth is flat and stands at the center of the universe—as the party has many times imagined and thought itself to be. Let it be permitted to profess such views as well. For the principled acceptance of political pluralism creates freedom also in this direction. Let it be permitted to say that the earth is flat. But let one thing not be permitted: that at any time in the future, in the history of this nation, it should be possible to defend this stance with inquisitions and autosdafe. [prolonged applause] [end recording]

Nyers, Pozsgay Address

LD0309210689 Budapest MTI in English 1816 GMT 3 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 3 (MTI)—There is need for a radically renewed party with legal continuity, cleared of conservative elements and operating on the basis of a platform alliance, it was decided by delegates to the 2d national conference of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party/MSZMP] reform circles and reform basic organizations during their closing plenary session on Sunday.

The 1.5-day platform-creating conference closed with a rally which was addressed by Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. Mr Nyers approved the answer of the reform circles as to what kind of a party they want, and explained his views on ways of handling the bequest of the novel-type party.

Mr Nyers also reflected on the debate whether a shift in model or a change of system is required. (Some say there was no socialism in Hungary over the past 40 years, so not only the model but the system also has to be changed towards realizing democratic socialism.) Mr Nyers agreed with the term "shift in model" insofar as it implies a radical reform of the political and economic system. However, he said, the definition is not accurate because all what has been going on so far cannot be called socialism in respect of formation theory.

The next speaker was Istvan Gyorffy from Zala country, and then Imre Pozsgay, member of the HSWP Presidium, took the floor.

Mr Pozsgay stressed it was important to clarify where is the limit of compromising spirit. He saw a compromise unrealistic between representatives of entirely different views. In his opinion, overt disassociation may win the party's reform forces respect in the eyes of hesitating party members, which may also offer a negotiating basis for the nation.

He pointed out that during the congress the reform circles would work for the party's renewal and the creation of a new socialist party. He drew attention to the fact that the altered Hungarian socialist party cannot rely exclusively on infallible people of impeccable past. If those who are really responsible for all the failures of the past decades do not have adequate self-restraint and

self-knowledge, the party should ask them not to apply for a post or should prevent them from doing so.

Contrary to the original schedule, after the rally the delegates stayed to take a stand on a few current political questions. Representatives of the Workers' Militia read out a statement, declaring they would renounce their weapons until a new law ruled on the body.

Grosz Begins Visit to Finland to Hold Talks

LD0309124589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1200 GMT 3 Sep 89

[Text] Karoly Grosz has traveled to Finland. The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party general secretary is visiting Helsinki at the invitation of the Finnish Government. Karoly Grosz was accompanied by Erno Kemenes, chairman of the National Planning Office; Laszlo Kovacs, state secretary at the Foreign Ministry; and Gyula Thurmer, advisor to the general secretary.

Arrives, Opens Talks

LD0409081289 Budapest MTI in English 1717 GMT 3 Sep 89

[Text] Helsinki, September 3 (MTI)—HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] General Secretary Karoly Grosz and his entourage arrived in Helsinki by a scheduled Malev flight late Sunday afternoon.

Mr Grosz was welcomed at the airport by Foreign Minister Pertti Paasio, president of the Finish Social Democratic Party, and Arto Mansala, ambassador of the Republic of Finland to Hungary.

Speaking to journalists after his arrival, Mr Grosz said that Hungary was proceeding from a bureaucratic socialism model towards the road to democratic socialism. "We are going an untrodden path," he said.

The about 48-hour packed official programme began with a discussion between Karoly Grosz and the Finnish foreign minister. Afterwards, talks were held with Pertti Paasio, Paavo Lipponen, member of the Party Council, and Jouko Elo, acting foreign affairs secretary, about inter-party relations.

Interviewed on Elections

LD0409081889 Budapest MTI in English 2006 GMT 3 Sep 89

[Text] Helsinki, September 3 (MTI)—Should it fail at the elections, the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] will not resort to violence to regain power, Koroly Grosz states in an interview with the Sunday issue of the Finnish newspaper "HELSINGIN SANOMAT."

The HSWP general secretary says in the interview that during the October party congress he would withdraw from his post but not from politics. He wishes to remain an active participant in political life and stay in the party's leadership.

On the talks following Mr Grosz's arrival in Helsinki, Gyula Thurmer said that the Finnish side was mainly interested in the development of Hungarian economy, the financial reform and the country's relations with the OECD members. It was also stated that Hungary would like to receive a re-financing credit from the OECD countries to imporve the financial conditions of the economy.

Mr Grosz said it was not realistic today to raise the question of Hungary's neutrality, but Hungarian foreign policy was expanding relations with NATO and wanted to see the Warsaw Treaty to be democratized and both military blocs to be dissolved as soon as possible.

The general secretary pointed out that Hungary regards the observance of minority rights as a standard to international relations. He requested the Finnish foreign minister that his country support Hungarian efforts towards signing a declaration of intent for cooperation with EFTA [European Free Trade Association] and concluding a free trade accord with these countries.

With regard to domestic policy, Mr Grosz called it natural for the new Hungarian political parties' seeking contact with the Finnish political forces as well.

MTI on Grosz Itinerary

LD0409112589 Budapest MTI in English 0943 GMT 4 Sep 89

[Text] Helsinki, September 4 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, in Helsinki at the invitation of the Finnish Government, started its itinerary in the early hours on Monday.

Gyula Thurmer, foreign political advisor to the general secretary, gave us the following information on the meeting of the leaders of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] and the Finnish Social Democratic Party on Sunday. He said that Mr Grosz and Pertti Passio had held a short, cordial and informal conversation. The general secretary congratulated Mr Passio on the 90th anniversary of the Finnish Social Democratic Party, praising its historical achievements. He also mentioned that the HSWP had been formed of two wings of the Hungarian workers' movement—the communist and the social democratic wings, and it still aimed to maintain both tendencies. It also wished to learn from the experience of the international social democratic tradition, including that of the Finnish governing party. It considers it important to study the relationship between party and state under a multi-party system, the activity of other corporative organizations and the interest coordination mechanism between employees and employers, the methods of associating various ownership forms, he said. At the meeting, the two party leaders agreed to have HSWP and SDP experts hold consultations on questions of social development.

The Hungarian party leader welcomed the initiative of the Finnish party to hold a conference of European left-wing forces. The Finnish party to hold a conference

of European left-wing forces. The Finnish side said in turn that they appreciated the HSWP's welcoming of the international relations of newly-formed Hungarian parties.

As the first official item on his itinerary, General Secretary Karoly Grosz met Mauno Koivisto, president of the Republic, at the president's office. Present at the meeting were members of the political entourage of the general secretary: Laszlo Kovacs, member of the HSWP Central Committee and foreign state secretary, Arpad Hargita, ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic to Finland, and Gyula Thurmer, foreign political advisor to the HSWP general secretary. From the Finnish side, Jaakko Kalela, head of the office of the president of the republic, Arto Mansala, ambassador of the Republic of Finland to Hungary, attended the meeting. At noon, Mauno Koivisto is to give lunch in the honour of Karoly Grosz.

According to the itinerary, the general secretary is to visit the parliament in the afternoon and meet with representatives of the parliamentary factions of parties. The deputy speaker of parliament is to brief him on the activity of the legislative.

Then, Mr Grosz is to lay wreaths at the graves of former President Urho Kekkonen and Juho Kusti Paasikivi, father of the prevailing Finnish foreign policy and the first president of the Republic after the 2nd World War.

Mr Grosz's itinerary for Monday also includes a visit to the Heureka science centre, the Finnish-Hungarian Friendship Society and a meeting with members of the Hungarian ethnic group. The day will close with a dinner in honour of Karoly Grosz, at which toasts will also be delivered.

Talks With Koivisto

LD0509090389 Budapest MTI in English
2142 GMT 4 Sep 89

[Text] Helsinki, September 4 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP], and Mauno Koivisto, president of the Republic of Finland, held informal and cordial talks on Monday in the Presidential Palace.

The sides briefed each other about the situation of the two countries. Discussing international issues, both leaders spoke about the European socialist countries. The HSWP general secretary expressed his views that their problems are, to a considerable extent, common, as they have to solve the task of political and economic renewal, although this surfaces in the various countries in differing tendencies and with differing intensity.

The sides stressed that the success of Gorbachev's guidelines, and the solution of the economic and political problems of the Soviet Union are in the interest of both countries. Mr Grosz added that balanced East-West relations are indispensable to Hungarian renewal. He welcomed the dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States, and the pan-European process. Messrs Grosz and Koivisto agreed that an important condition of cooperation between the European peoples is to safeguard the balance of the continent. The internal stability of the central and Eastern European countries is part of this.

President Koivisto, discussing his experiences with the Socialist countries and the Soviet Union, stressed that accelerating economic development is of great importance, as is political transformation.

Mr Grosz noted that Hungary would like to expand its relations both in the economic and political field with the European Community, and also sees possibilities of extending cooperation with the EFTA [European Free Trade Association] countries. He requested the support of the Finnish leadership to expand relations between Hungary and these countries, and to conclude free trade agreements.

The 90-minute meeting was followed by a lunch.

In the afternoon, Mr Grosz was briefed in the Finnish Parliament on the activity of the legislative body. He then placed wreaths in Hietaniem Cemetery on the graves of former President Urho Kekkonen, and Juho Kusti Paaskiviki, first president of the republic after the Second World War.

Mr Grosz then visited the Finnish-Hungarian Society.

Gives Dinner Toast

LD0509090589 Budapest MTI in English
2158 GMT 4 Sep 89

[Text] Helsinki, September 4 (MTI)—On Monday evening, the Finnish government hosted a dinner in honour of Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party]. Toasts were given by Ilkka Suominen, minister of industry and trade, and Karoly Grosz.

Mr Grosz stressed in his toast:

"The HSWP wants a socialist society which is imbued with the spirit of democracy. The flexible connection of the varied forms of market economy, and common and private property is not an end in itself, more favourable conditions should be created for the work of the people.

"The changing of Hungary into a modern state requires stability both within the country and in the international field. We profess an open foreign policy. We welcome the Soviet-American dialogue, and the pleasing improvement in East-West relations. It is our conviction that the development of our common neighbour, the Soviet Union, Gorbachev's perestroika, and the continuation of the new foreign political way of thinking are in our common interest. In this, we need the world, and particularly Europe, since we can very much use the experiences of the countries in the continent in the course of our development."

Nyers Receives SPD'S Voigt During Visit

LD3108191689 Budapest MTI in English 1605 GMT 31 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 31 (MTI)—Rezso Nyers, president of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party], met with Karsten D. Voigt, an MP from the FRG, member of the SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany] presidium and foreign and security political spokesman for the parliamentary faction of the party, on Thursday. The two politicians held a cordial and friendly exchange of views on the topical questions concerning relations between the two countries and parties.

Voigt Makes Departure Statement

LD0109163689 Budapest MTI in English 1452 GMT 1 Sep 89

["Statement by Voigt"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, September 1 (MTI)—"It was made crystal clear to me in Hungary that no GDR citizen staying here will be compelled to leave the country against his will. GDR citizens who want to travel on to the FRG will shortly be able to do so under a one-off humanitarian action," Karsten Voigt, vice-president of the parliamentary faction of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD], told MTI and Hungarian radio prior to leaving Budapest on Friday.

In Budapest, Herr Voigt met Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, Foreign Ministry officials and leaders of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary.

In connection with the affair of GDR refugees, Herr Voigt said that, on the basis of talks with the Hungarian officials concerned, the humanitarian action in question would take place "within a short time by the end of the holiday season, before the cooler autumn weather sets in."

Herr Voigt was particularly pleased with one gesture: According to Hungarian sources, the GDR citizens concerned can dispose of their property, such as their cars, as they wish by selling it or taking it with them. He stressed that this is a sovereign decision within the competence of the Hungarian authorities, a one-off solution necessitated by the extraordinary circumstances.

Karsten Voigt expressed his thanks, on the SPD's behalf, to the government, relief organizations and people of Hungary for the above procedure which indicates the policy pursued by Budapest gives priority to human rights and humanitarian considerations, Herr Voigt said, and added that the measure had increased the FRG's sympathy towards Hungary.

Herr Voigt called on the GDR leadership to support, or at least not to hamper, the humanitarian Hungarian move. He expressed the hope that the GDR would not limit travel to Hungary in a reaction to the Hungarian measures.

Karsten Voigt said his Budapest talks convinced him of Hungary's intention to go on with its policy of opening to Western Europe. He recalled that the Hungarian Government is already present in the European Council as a permanent invited guest. After the first free elections Hungary should gain full membership in this body, he said on SPD's behalf.

On relations between Hungary and the Common Market, Mr Voigt said that the existing cooperation accord is only the beginning, and in his view, there is a need and possibility for a vigorous development of Hungary-EC links.

The SPD supports the abolition of the compulsory visa system between the FRG and Hungary. The proposal has been submitted to the Bundestag committee which is obliged to take a decision in this cycle, Herr Voigt said, but added that the question still has to be discussed with FRG's neighbours.

The SPD politician was optimistic about the development of Hungarian reform processes, including prospects for the Social Democratic movement. He expressed his conviction that Hungarian social democracy would become united and draft a manifesto for the elections at its national conference in late September.

Dispute With CSSR Over Dam Project Continues

CSSR Compensation Claim 'Unfounded'

LD0109144389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 1 Sep 89

[Text] The Hungarian government considers Czechoslovakia's compensation claim following the suspension of the Nagymaros project to be unfounded. The note from the Council of Ministers, which is a reply to the note from the Czechoslovak government of mid-August emphasizes that the claim to compensation is unacceptable without talks. The Hungarian government again proposes consideration of its proposals, and urges a reply of substance from the Czechoslovak government.

Foreign Ministry Note

LD0109165989 Budapest MTI in English 1517 GMT 1 Sep 89

["Foreign Ministry Note—Gabcikovo-Nagymaros"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, September 1 (MTI)—The reply of the Hungarian Government to the August 18 note of the Czechoslovak Government on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros barrage project was presented to the charge d'affaires ad interim of the Czechoslovak Embassy in Budapest at the Hungarian Foreign Ministry on Friday.

Summing up the outcome of the Hungarian-Czechoslovak prime ministerial talks of July 20, the note states with regret that the Hungarian proposals presented during the prime ministerial meeting have been left

unanswered up to the present. The Hungarian side starts out from the entire set of agreements on the project and from the fact that all gains from the common facility, the possible financial losses incurred, the environmental risks and the burdens involved in preventing or averting the hazards should be born jointly.

For this reason, the Hungarian Government does not consider the Czechoslovak claim for compensation justified and cannot accept the fixing of its sum without negotiations in the current period of suspension. It draws the attention of the Czechoslovak Government that both countries face an emergency situation ecologically and the deeds of the two governments can only be judged accordingly. The Hungarian side finds it difficult to explain the rigid evasion of discussing the issue of ecological guarantee and optimal mode of operation, and trusts that the Czechoslovak side will change approach and join the pursuit of an acceptable solution.

The note firmly rejects the statement in the Czechoslovak note of August 18 that the Hungarian moves call into question its credibility at the dam talks. This unfounded qualification gives the Hungarian side cause for concern as to the cooperation readiness it can expect while operating the common facility and resolving eventual problems.

The Hungarian Government repeatedly proposes the Czechoslovak Government should thoroughly consider the Hungarian initiatives and it calls for a substantive reply. It proposes that the planned forthcoming prime ministerial meeting should be preceded by expert talks or consultation on deputy prime minister level. Clarification of this intricate issue to our peoples and responsibility for the future generation require the two governments to collate their interests with joint effort in an appropriate manner.

The note also points out that possible technical countermeasures by the Czechoslovak side in connection with the supsension of preparing rechannelling work at Dunakiliti would be regarded by the Hungarian partner as a breach of the agreement on the setting up and operation of the barrage system. It calls attention to the serious international legal conflicts such a move would involve, and to the fact that responsibility for all related consequences and for the ecological hazard to Hungarian territories would exclusively lie with the Czechoslovak side.

Ferenc Munnich Society Holds Meeting in Budapest

Rajki Attends Meeting

LD0209190989 Budapest MTI in English 1842 GMT 2 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 2 (MTI)—The Marxist-Leninist Party of Workers is an anarchy-coloured initiative which has nothing to do with the Ferenc Munnich Society, Jozsef Aggod, deputy chairman of the society's Executive Committee, said before the society's general assembly which was held in Budapest on Saturday with 400 delegates from all over the country. Mrs Rajki, member of the Political Executive Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, was also present.

In a letter of greetings to the conference, HSWP General Secretary Karoly Grosz expressed his sympathy for the society's pursuit of ways for constructive joint action, and its high sense of responsibility in treating questions of crucial concern to the people.

Mr Aggod said the aim of the society is to safeguard and further improve the achievements of the people's democratic and socialist revolution. At the same time, they also take a stand for the popular, democratic and socialist-oriented reforms, even radical changes.

Acting Secretary Ferenc Berenyi said the society was founded in 1984 as a historic committee to turn into a political organization in the autumn of 1988. It works as an independent organization of the patriotic people's front and critical ally to the HSWP. However, it criticized the platform of HSWP's Budapest Reform Circle for including bourgeois restoration endeavours.

The society called on the left-wing political, interest, professional and other organizations to set up a left-wing grouping of the National Movement for Socialist Renewal within a short time.

The general assembly is to end on Sunday with the election of the society's leading body. A press briefing will follow early afternoon.

Spokesman on Goals

LD0309131689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 3 Sep 89

[Text] The representatives of the Ferenc Munnich Society are holding a discussion. About 60 percent of the 10-12,000 members of the society are party members, the others are not. Zsuzsa Vajda has asked Miklos Magyar, the spokesman of the Ferenc Munnich Society, about their goals and ideas.

[Begin recording] [Magyar] We have summed up the stance of our society in a single sentence: loyalty to socialism.

[Vajda] What is socialism, in your interpretation?

[Magyar] We have to return to the easy-to-comprehend teachings of the classics of Marxism: Socialism is that road of social development which secures a safe existence, a stable way of life, culture, a future for Hungarian society and, beyond this, to the peoples of the world.

[Vajda] Are you all going to participate in the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP] congress?

[Magyar] We have delegates; our ideas are set out in the platform named "crisis and resurgence." One thing did become clear here yesterday: Our membership regards the activities of the Marxist Unity Platform as the

guarantee that can lead to the creation of a purified, more soundly based MSZMP.

[Vajda] Does this mean a single party?

[Magyar] If there is an MSZMP whose outlines are drawn up by the Marxist Unity Platform, we shall be ready to support this platform in the future, just as we have done up to now.

[Vajda] What is your view about the defense of socialism?

[Magyar] Our position is clear: contrary to those dishonorable value judgements which describe the Ferenc Munnich Society as some sort of illegally armed organization, we have made it clear that we believe in a peaceful dialogue in order to win over Hungarian public opinion, because without this it is impossible to shape the future. This country lived through a bloody tragedy in 1956; we want to avoid this at any price, and it is in this sense that we carry out our work of political persuasion. [end recording]

MTI Reports Spokesman

LD0409084789 Budapest MTI in English 1922 GMT 3 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 3 (MTI)—The Ferenc Munnich Society [FMS] has committed itself to continue the building of socialism as a social mass movement of national scale. This was the main point of the political platform, "crisis and advancement", the society adopted at its two-day delegates' meeting this weekend, spokesman Miklos Magyar told journalists in Budapest on Sunday.

Mr Magyar said participants in the conference declared support for the HSWP's [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Marxist unity platform. On the other hand, they sharply criticized the current party leadership for failing to promote creation of party unity and adoption of a policy to overcome the crisis. While upholding the idea of socialist advancement, in the face of the advocates of bourgeois democracy, they consider a change in economic structure necessary.

Mr Magyar said the conference elected a 91-strong board, a 21-strong presidium and a secretariat. Dr Jozsef Aggod became president and Ferenc Berenyi national secretary. The society is prepared to broaden the scope of its activity in order to help accomplish the economic and political tasks lying ahead. In cooperation with the country's progressive left-wing forces, they want to contribute to resolving the pressing economic problems.

The board members pointed out that at present the HSWP includes a communist and a reformist lines. Both are interested in joining forces against the right-wing, but they cannot co-exist on long term. It is possible that there will be two congresses in October, but there may not be any at all. The society does not plan to put up its own candidates for the elections, it was stated during the Sunday press briefing of Ferenc Munnich Society.

Two-Day Transylvanian National Conference Begins

Szuros Speaks at Meeting

LD0209212389 Budapest MTI in English 1914 GMT 2 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 2 (MTI)—The existence of ethnic Hungarians as a national minority of Romania is being increasingly threatened in Ceausescu's so-called 'golden era', said Matyas Szuros, president of the National Assembly, in his opening speech at the 1st two-day national conference of Hungary's Transylvanian circles and societies in Szeged on Saturday.

Mr Szuros pointed out that "improvement of Hungarian-Romanian relations is our essential interest. We cannot abandon the opportunities offered by bilateral talks, but neither do we cherish illusions."

The government is shortly to set up a nationality college and a minority sub-committee is to be affiliated to parliament's foreign affairs committee, Mr Szuros said.

The morning session, presided over by MP [Member of Parliament] the report of Judit Toth, representative of the national refugee inter-departmental committee. In the afternoon two lectures were given on the problems of integration and self-organization of refugees. Szeged-Csanad Diocesan Bishop Endre Gyulay called on refugees to work together and take their fate into their own hands.

Reformed Pastor Geza Nemeth, co-president of the Transylvanian federation, summed up the tasks related to the Transylvania issue in 12 points. He said it was also time to announce a policy of staying home. The Transylvanian Hungarians can only be helped if they want to survive.

The conference is to continue on Sunday.

Conference Ends

LD0409022789 Budapest MTI in English 2045 GMT 3 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 3 (MTI)—The two-day national conference of Transylvanian circles ended in Szeged on Sunday [3 September]. Representatives of the Hungarian circles, societies, parties, social organizations, state and church institutions concerned with the Romanian refugee affair discussed ways of solving the social, economic, political and integration problems of refugees.

A national consultative body of Transylvanian circles was set up at the conference, and it was decided to call into being a working group in charge of elaborating theoretical and practical measures for determining the scope of operation of the consultative body.

Speaking to MTI's correspondent after the meetings, Attila Ara Kovacs, head of the Transylvanian Hungarian News Agency and Budapest representative of the Hungarian Human Rights Foundation of New York, pointed out that the event gained added significance through the presence of Matyas Szuros. This was the first time that the questions of abrogating the bilateral agreement with Romania on double citizenship was raised. He also quoted the speaker of parliament as mentioning covert military threat as a new element in bilateral relations.

Mazowiecki, Walesa Meet on Government

LD0509013289 Warsaw PAP in English
0051 GMT 5 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 4—Chairman of the Council of Ministers Tadeusz Mazowiecki met here today with Chairman of the NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] "Solidarnosc" Lech Walesa.

During the meeting they discussed issues connected with the formation of government.

Mazowiecki Confers With Group Leaders

LD0409195289 Warsaw PAP in English
1828 GMT 4 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept 4—Premier Mazowiecki held another consultative meeting connected with formation of the new government.

He received at a joint meeting Chairman of the Pax Association Zenon Komender, leader of the Pax Parliamentary Floor Group Jozef Wojcik, Chairman of the Christian-Social Union Kazimierz Morawski and Leader of the Union's Parliamentary Floor Group Tedeusz Nowacki, President of the All-Poland Board of the Catholic Social Union Wieslaw Gwizdz and Secretary of the Union's Parliamentary Floor Group Stefania Czupala-Kologa.

Undersecretary of State in the Office of the Council of Ministers Jacek Ambroziak participated in the meeting.

Mazowiecki Meets Rakowski, Orzechowski

LD0209141989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1400 GMT 2 Sep 89

[Text] As part of the consultation meetings on forming a new government, Premier Taduesz Mazowiecki has had a meeting with Mieczyslaw Rakowski and Marian Orzechowski, chairman of the Polish United Workers Party Parliamentary Floor Group. Jacek Ambroziak, under secretary of state in the office of the Council of Ministers, also took part in the meeting.

Rakowski 'Satisfied' With Mazowiecki Offer

LD0209175889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 2 Sep 89

[Text] Today, Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki discussed the formation of his government with Mieczyslaw Rakowski and Marian Orzechowski. Here is what the first secretary of the PZPR [Polish United Workers' Party] Central Committee and the chairman of the Party Parliamentary Floor Group told Polish radio and television reporters after the meeting:

[Begin recording] [Rakowski] (?Today), in his discussion with us, Premier Mazoweicki presented his conception; I believe that it is a realistic conception, and one that suits our Party. The discussion was constructive and concerned particular ministerial portfolios, although this has not yet been completed.

[Orzechowski] I can add that today's discussion was satisfactory because Premier Mazowiecki's proposals satisfy our argument about our Party's participation in government, appropriate to its political potential, participation appropriate to our political weight. Everything else is going to be a subject of discussions, and I think that they are still going to be quite heated and (?frank) discussions.

[Unidentified reporter] Could you tell us some further details? [Rakowski] I cannot provide any further details because, as the chairman of the floor group said, this is to be a subject of detailed discussions. I would also like to use this opportunity to tell you that asking me about the subject of the talks and their content at this stage would be tactless. It is inappropriate for us to talk about the details. Public opinion in general always awaits details, but these will only be presented once we reach the final frontier, that is, once we know fully how wide the PZPR participation in the government will be. But I can add that the premier is a good discussion partner. This was my second meeting with him. I think he is a realist; he views realistically the situation in Poland, as well as the (?manner) of forming the government.

[Orzechowski] I agree with this statement—it was my second meeting with the premier too—and I can add just one thing, that our Party's participation, its joint responsibility and coparticipation in the government will concern all fundamental walks of life of our country.

[Rakowski] I could also add that if this discussion goes on—and it will, that's clear—and if appropriately to our political strength and position in the country and in the life of society we get those portfolios which confirm that position, then the PZPR indeed will have to play an active role in joint government and give its support to all those actions which, after all, are to serve Poland's coming out of the economic and political crisis. [end recording]

Mazowiecki Appoints Chief for FRG Talks

LD0509053989 Warsaw PAP in English
1850 GMT 4 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 4—Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki appointed Mieczyslaw Pszon his special plenipotentiary for talks with FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl's representative on settling open matters and achieving progress in relations between both societies and states.

Mieczyslaw Pszon is a catholic activist, a well-known journalist writing for the "TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY" Catholic weekly.

Opposition Welcomes Mazowiecki Appointment

LD0209200589 Warsaw PAP in English 1921 GMT 2 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept 2—Participants in the meeting of activists of seven opposition groupings held here on August 31 conveyed to PAP a statement that reads in part:

"During the meeting discussed was the fact and consequences of assigning the function of prime minister to Tadeusz Mazowiecki. The meeting agreed upon the historic significance of the event seeing in it changes for speeding up transition from totalitarianism to democracy in Poland, for transforming Poland into an independent, sovereign and democratic state.

"Social success of the mission of the new, first in over forty years non-communist premier will depend on carrying out political and economic reforms such as: adoption of a new constitution which would guarantee, among other things, freedom of forming political parties, precipitation of free elections to regional parliaments and self-governments (based on new electoral laws and on new law on regional self-government), liquidation of nomenklature (that is appointing party activists to high posts), market reform accompanied by protection system for the poorest social groups, enfranchisement of society and restriction of the state's role in the economy. [no closing quotes as received]

Congratulates Send to Mazowiecki on Appointment

From Lithuanian Freedom Movement

AU0109122589 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 30 Aug 89 p 7

[Message of congratulations from Sajudis, the Lithuanian movement for restructuring, to Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki on his appointment]

[Text] His Excellency Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

We congratulate you as the head of a government that expresses the interests of all Polish citizens. You said in your inaugural speech that Poland will be different if that is the wish of all the peoples that inhabit it. We do not doubt that the experience of "Solidarity's" heroic struggle is creating among your neighbors an understandable aim toward freedom and independence. The moral guideline that binds us is not political calculations, but a fulfillment of the right of nations to self-determination. That is why your victory is also our victory.

The Parliament of the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring Sajudis.

Bulgaria's Atanasov Message

AU3108122889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Aug 89 p 2

[Message of congratulations from Bulgarian Premier Georgi Atanasov to Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki on his appointment]

[Text] Mr Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic:

Esteemed Mr Mazowiecki! On your election to the post of chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, please accept best congratulations from the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and me personally.

I am convinced that the traditional friendship between the Bulgarian and Polish peoples and the comprehensive cooperation between our countries will continue to develop and serve the interests of Bulgaria and Poland, peace, and security.

Please accept my wishes for good health and success in your responsible work.

Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

PCI's Ochetto Message

AU3108121889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Aug 89 p 2

[Message of congratulations from PCI chief Achille Ochetto to Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki on his appointment]

[Text] Tadeusz Mazowiecki, premier of the Polish Republic [as published]:

On behalf of the Italian Communist Party [PCI] and myself, I send you warmest wishes on account of the mission entrusted to you by the Polish parliament at the suggestion of President Jaruzelski. The entrustment of this mission to you, plus your firm desire to form a coalition government that would implement a profound reform to the Polish state and society, is an important fact for everyone. Together with its wishes and expressions of warmth, the PCI wants to convey to you the conviction of the Italian Communists whereby an effective and practical policy of economic cooperation and a suitable effort by the EEC countries to support Poland's economic and democratic renewal correspond to the feelings of friendship joining our two countries and peoples.

Achille Ochetto, PCI general secretary.

From Israel's Shamir

AU0109122789 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 30 Aug 89 p 7

[Message of congratulations from Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir to Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki on his appointment]

[Text] Mr Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic.

On your election to the post of premier of the Polish People's Republic, I send you warmest congratulations on behalf of the Israeli Government and people.

Your election is an important new stage in the political life of the Polish people. We wish you success in your efforts to unite your people and overcome the economic difficulties.

We hope your election will mark a new phase in relations between our countries, for the benefit of both our peoples.

Yitzhaq Shamir, prime minister of Israel.

PLO's Arafat Message

AU0109130189 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 30 Aug 89 p 7

[Message of congratulations from PLO leader Yasir Arafat to Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki on his appointment]

[Text] His Excellency Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic [PPR].

On your election to the post of PPR chairman, I am pleased to be able to convey to Your Excellency on behalf of the Palestinian Government and people, my colleagues the members of the PLO Executive Committee, and on my own behalf warmest congratulations and wishes for much further success.

Your election to this honorable position shows the amount of trust vested in you by the friendly Polish peoople, who want you to lead them by means of creative construction and unity toward progress and development.

Friendly Poland's support for the just struggle of our nation, under the leadership of the PLO, our nation's only rightful representative, for an end to the Israeli occupation and the creation of an independent state enjoys the respect and appreciation of our people, the Arab nation, and all people in the world who love freedom, independence, and justice.

We are convinced that your government will continue to render essential support for our people's struggle until peace is established in Palestine, the land of peace. We are also convinced that the bonds of friendship and cooperation between the PPR and Palestinian state will strengthen and develop for the benefit of our friendly peoples.

Once again I send you warm congratulations and best wishes of health and success, and I wish your government many successes in fulfilling the ambitious plans of the friendly Polish people.

Please accept, Mr Premier, my highest esteem.

Yasir Arafat, president of the state of Palestine and chairman of the PLO Executive Committee.

From Mongolia's Sodnom

AU3108115289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Aug 89 p 2

[Message of congratulations from Mongolian Premier Dumaagiyn Sodnom to Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki on his appointment]

[Text] Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic:

Esteemed Mr Premier! On behalf of the government of the Mongolian People's Republic and myself, I send you warmest congratulations on your appointment to the lofty position of chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic.

I wish to take this opportunity to express the conviction that mutual relations between Mongolia and Poland will continue to develop and strengthen unchangingly.

I wish you, esteemed Mr Premier, much success in your very responsible work for the sake of the flourishing of People's Poland and the consolidation of universal peace.

Dumaagiyn Sodnom, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic.

Dziekania Political Club Supports Mazowiecki

LD2908182989 Warsaw PAP in English 1701 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 29—The "Dziekania" political thought club conveyed to PAP its stand that reads in part:

"Representatives of the club's regional chapters consider the appointment of Tadeusz Mazowiecki to the post of prime minister as a historic event that raises hope for early, fully democratic elections to territorial self-governments and to the next Sejm.

"We express conviction that it is indispensable to undertake shortly a radical reform of the economic system with a view to creating a free market. Considerable stress should be put at prompt healing of agriculture and the whole food economy.

"Though not participating in formation of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government, our club offers its support for it and thinks that all opposition political forces in the country should back the cabinet.

"In the transitional period from the totalitarian system to parliamentary democracy various social groups will seek the most efficient forms of political activity. Efforts undertaken by activists of the private farmers 'Solidarnosc' independent trade union and its chairman Jozef Slisz in order to find a formula for not only trade union, but also political activities with which people in the country and towns could identify themselves meet with our great attention and support.

"In such a situation it seems necessary to discuss a new conception of a democratic, peasant-and-christian movement open to cooperation with other political orientations.

"The club will support that search and work."

Walesa Says Government 'Almost' Ready by Friday

AU0509104689 Paris AFP in English 1016 GMT 5 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept 5 (AFP)—Solidarity leader Lech Walesa said Tuesday as he left for West Germany that Poland's new government would be "almost" in place by the time he got back on Friday.

Reports from Bonn on Tuesday said the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP, communist) had asked for six places in the cabinet.

Mr Walesa, who had a meeting late Monday with Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, refused to comment on their talks. He told reporters: "I pity and encourage Mr Mazowiecki."

He reiterated his call to reformers to unite. He said there were many reformers within the PUWP and if they had a programme and an open mind "there should be room for them" in the cabinet, but as individuals and not representatives of any political party.

He said membership of the Solidarity-led coalition was "closed."

"It has three components: Solidarity, the Peasants' Party and the Democratic Party. However, one could and should let in reformists, whatever their political allegiance".

Emphasising West Germany's "decisive voice in the future of Europe", he said he hoped to convince West German leaders "that we have done everything possible in the political domain."

"Poland is like a pack of cards, which could be blown away by the slightest breeze of discontentment. With the help of the West, we could make a house of concrete".

The PUWP's ideology secretary Slawomir Wiatr, on a visit to Bonn, said Monday that the Communists wanted foreign, defence, interior, culture and communications as well as the post of deputy prime minister, newspapers reported on Tuesday.

He said Solidarity should also have six cabinet posts and the remaining six ministries be divided between the two smaller parties in the coalition.

He emphasised that the Communists were not interested in taking on the economy portfolio because they hoped others would succeed where they had failed in the past

In talks with Chancellery Minister Rudolf Seiters, Mr Wiatr emphasised his party's belief that economic development was the key to the reforms' success. He also asked for West German aid in the form of investment.

Walesa Plans To Visit FRG 5-8 September

LD0409174889 Warsaw PAP in English 1525 GMT 4 Sep 89

[Text] Bonn, Sept 4—Lech Walesa's twice announced and twice postponed visit to the FRG will finally start on Tuesday, Sept 5th.

The Solidarity leader is to pay a four-day visit to this country at the invitation of the Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund (DGB) trade union central organization to hold talks and meetings on the trade- union, political and church levels.

Walesa is to meet with DGB leaders and participate in a meeting of the DGB Federal Committee.

The purely political part of Walesa's stay includes a visit paid to FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker, a talk with chancellor Helmut Kohl and a meeting with ministers of foreign affairs and of economy.

Walesa will also meet with Cardinal Hengsbach who has recently took part in the celebrations at the Polish shrine of the Holiest Virgin of Jasna Gora, and with other FRG church personalities.

Walesa Expresses Desire To Visit Moscow

LD0109162689 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1515 GMT 1 Sep 89

[Text] Here is Lech Walesa Especially for Teleexpress.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter) More and more is said in the press, from both of the so-called sides, about the growing opposition toward your trade union.

[Walesa] Everything that is happening is connected with the difference of concept. Today, many people, including my colleagues from 1980, think that only the union could be the guarantor of reforms. And I repeat: Yes, it is the nucleus and the starting point for reforms, but without economic, legal, and political conditions there will be no conditions for a good union.

[Reporter] Do you envisage visiting Moscow?

[Walesa] Of course. Who wouldn't like to be in Moscow; who wouldn't like to visit this great country? I want to visit it very much—I will—and I hope that my wish will be fulfilled.

[Reporter] But when? Is it not known?

[Walesa] It does not depend on me. It isn't me who sends the invitation. [end recording]

PAP Cites Walesa Interview With London Weekly

LD0309234389 Warsaw PAP in English 2043 GMT 3 Sep 89

[Text] London, Sept. 3—the "SUNDAY EXPRESS" today carries an interview with Solidarnosc leader Lech Walesa who appealed to the West for an urgent aid for Poland.

"Help us now, today, if you wait still longer, we may lose a chance which will not happen for another time in our lifetime. You encouraged us, now you have a responsibility to lend us assitance, so that this cause may succeed," Walesa told the paper.

Interview With Geremek on New Government

AU0509143289 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 30 Aug 89 p 1

[Interview with Bronislaw Geremek, chairman of the Citizens Parliamentary Club, by Helena Luczywo and Wlodzimierz Slowinski: "The chairman of the Citizens Parliamentary Club on the Government and its Program"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] The first question is: Who will be in the new government?

[Geremek] I think that for the moment we have to turn our back on that favorite human pastime, namely, speculating as to the final composition of the government. We have chosen the premier, and his parliamentary club, the Citizens Parliamentary Club, has given him a large measure of confidence. The task of forming the government is his responsibility.

[Question] On what principles will this government be formed?

[Geremek] The Citizens Parliamentary Club, the United Peasant Party [ZSL] Club, and the Democratic Party [SD] Club have entered into a coalition. These political parties and their parliamentary representation want to secure a certain number of cabinet posts in the new government. We are also faced by a situation which was created by the outgoing Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] premier, when he offered these two parties a certain number of government posts.

We believe that the composition of the government must reflect a certain program, and this composition should be subordinate to the demands of this program. Competence and honesty should be the two qualities necessary in order to join this government.

We must immediately prepare a short term program of about 3 months duration—a program that would be conducive to creating a climate of hope. A longer term program is also required—a program of structural transformation that will get the country out of the rut that it is in.

[Question] What influence has the Citizens Parliamentary Club on the composition of the government?

[Geremek] The parliamentary club is not the party. In our talks with the premier we did not demand this or that ministerial post.

We do believe, however, that certain ministerial portfolios must be distributed on the basis of professional qualifications, and not according to any party allegiance.

I am thinking of the following. Of the ministries in the economic sphere; I include the ministries of finance, agriculture, foreign trade, labor, and industry. Of the ministries linked generally with the cultural sphere, national education is the most important here. The club is agreed that we must hold onto these. Finally, there are the political ministries. According to prior agreement, the Ministry of National Defense and the Ministry of Internal Affairs will remain in PZPR hands. It would be good, however, if we could have nonparty undersecretaries of state appointed here. The ministry of justice and ministry of foreign affairs portfolios must be given according to the criteria of qualifications and honesty, without any partisan considerations.

[Question] The ZSL and SD both want to secure the justice portfolio.

[Geremek] In our talk with the premier we indicated that we consider this sphere to be crucial for the processes that were begun at the "roundtable." The appropriate choice must guarantee the deep changes that the public is expecting.

[Question] The ZSL is also contesting the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, and Food Industries.

[Geremek] We must bear in mind the important force that Private Farmers "Solidarity" played in the elections, and continues to play in the Citizens Parliamentary Club. It is natural that it is hoping to secure this portfolio, or the position of deputy premier responsible for agriculture for itself.

[Question] The PZPR is also demanding the Foreign Ministry portfolio.

[Geremek] The experiences of Polish foreign policy—especially the recent conflict with the GDR concerning Baltic territorial waters and the access to Swinoujscie—go to show that the PZPR's monopoly is not in the

national interest. The general structure of the Polish diplomatic corps does not meet the demands of the new period.

In accordance with the regulations applicable to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, its information department serves to provide information to the PZPR Central Committee. This is an indication of the radical changes that are necessary in order to break the party monopoly in Polish foreign policy.

In all these contested matters we await the premier's decision, who will weigh up the advantages and the necessities.

[Question] You seem to have forgotten about the Radio and Television Committee.

[Geremek] This is a matter which is not open to discussion. The present monopoly of the PZPR must be broken. This is the position of the Citizens Parliamentary Club. The personnel changes of the Radio and Television Committee will be the most evident sign of change that we can give the public.

The club has suggested that the Radio and Television Committee must come under parliamentary control, and we are not prepared to back down on this.

[Question] Has the Citizens Parliamentary Club also had direct talks with the PZPR Deputies Club on the composition of the government?

[Geremek] No. Public opinion would not tolerate the broad participation of the PZPR in the new government. But I believe that, if the PZPR wants to keep a monopoly on certain fundamental structures of power, then it must also bear joint responsibility for the economic policies. It must also be prepared to take on an economics-related ministerial post, apart from those of the Ministry of Foreign Afairs and the Ministry of National Defense. We must not allow the party that wishes to have in its grip all the apparatus of force the option of opposing our economic policy and stirring up public opinion against it.

[Question] How do you foresee future cooperation between the Citizens Parliamentary Club and the premier?

[Geremek] We tried to lay these foundations in our Monday meeting with Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki. I think we were successful. The parliamentary community could help in the formation of a new strategic program of economic regeneration. The answer to that question will no doubt be given by the premier.

[Question] Does the Citizens Parliamentary Club have its own economic program which it will suggest to the premier?

[Geremek] The club has decided that the situation is such that radical and rapid steps are needed. The club has its own economic commission which is working out suggestions and legislative proposals. The Citizens Parliamentary Club has also formed an economics team, led by Professor Beksiak, and it is curently elaborating an economic program.

Whatever happens, our society will have to make great sacrifices. Behind the Citizens Parliamentary Club and the premier stands "Solidarity."

We have to look to the experience of France and Spain, which in times of difficulty were able to achieve agreement between the government and the trade unions.

Geremek Hopes for Start of Cabinet Interviews

LD0409190289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 4 Sep 89

[Text] A PAP journalist asked Professor Bronislaw Geremek, leader of the Citizens Parliamentary Floor Group [OKP], about the subject of tomorrow's OKP meeting. Prof Geremek replied that tomorrow internal OKP matters will be discussed, and then OKP deputies and senators will have a meeting with Jan Nowak-Jezioranski [Former head of the Polish section of Radio Free Europe], who is in Poland at the invitation of Lech Walesa.

Prof Geremek expressed the hope that in the near future a meeting between the OKP and the premier would be held and that the interviewing of candidates for ministerial posts by Sejm committees will begin at the end of this week so that at the beginning of the coming week the Sejm can confirm the composition of the new cabinet. We are of the opinion, the OKP leader added, that at the basis of the foundation of this cabinet there is the parliamentary coalition of the United Peasant Party, the Democratic Party, and the OKP, and that this coalition defines the principles of forming of the new cabinet.

PZPR's Miller Interview on Party's Future

PM0109082089 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 29 Aug 89 p 12

[Interview with Polish United Workers' Party Politburo member Leszek Miller by Andrea Tarquini in Warsaw—date not given]

[Excerpt] Warsaw—[Introductory passage omitted]

[Tarquini] Mr Miller, the party's leadership role is still enshrined in the Constitution, what do you think of that?

[Miller] I think that it is an anachronism and must be removed. The Constitution must be revised by the political forces in accordance with the real situation. We Communists must earn a leadership role by facing the test of the people's approval like the other parties.

[Tarquini] Walesa has said that you are patriots who can be won over to democracy but that he wants to see the death of the communism which has prevailed over the past 40 years.

What is your reply?

[Miller] I certainly will not answer with anger. Walesa is not the first to say such things. At the last plenum some of us even said precisely that we wanted the death of this system inherited from the past. We too want civilian society to take its place again, we want human rights to take precedence. Walesa may have read some of our speeches. He knows that to build pluralism on the ruins of totalitarianism he will also need a reformed communist party as a loyal partner.

[Tarquini] You are regarded as very close to European social democratic movements. Would you like to see your party turned into a social democratic party?

[Miller] Social democracy expresses many great values which I share but there is one difference: Social democracy in Scandinavia and in Germany tried to reform capitalism. Here things are very different, we must go back to building capitalism after 40 years, this is the country's historical necessity.

[Tarquini] But your transition is like the Spanish one: In Madrid the right and left have continued to be the right and left....

[Miller] That is true, and it is also true that in Spain the old parties have been replaced by new parties and new alliances. But, above all, it is true that for the Spanish—whose transition we admire—things were different: I must emphasize that in their country capitalism already existed with all its internal and international implications. No, the Polish transition has no previous example to which to refer.

[Tarquini] Are you afraid that your experiment will fail?

[Miller] I do not fear inflexible currents. The majority of the PZPR wants the existing choice and the same is true of Solidarity. I fear—and I think they also fear—that if we do not succeed in bringing about an economic recovery, we will all have to face an uncontrollable social explosion. Faced with the problems, the people will say "even Solidarity governs like the Communists." In other words, I fear a possible Lebanon-style situation in Polish society from which only extremist factions will benefit.

[Tarquini] Jaruzelski violated the party's leadership role: He did not wait until the end of the plenum before appointing Mazowiecki.

What is your view of relations between the general and the party?

[Miller] From the institutional viewpoint, the general is a president above the parties and by fulfilling his institutional duties, he helped to solve the crisis. Before he made his choice, the temperature in the party and the state was certainly soaring and he defused the tension. He is a kind of Polish De Gaulle, but I do not think he will eventually abandon his party.

Miller Discusses Party's Government Involvement

AU0109121189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Aug 89 pp 1,2

[Interview with Leszek Miller, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, by TRYBUNA LUDU's Czeslaw Rowinski: "Replies to Questions from TRYBUNA LUDU Readers"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Rowinski] This time, please answer questions not from the newspaper, but from readers who telephoned us on Monday. The questions were mainly about three topics. Here is the first one. Your statements made at the Kalisz aviation plant have been considered forthright, frank, and open. Some readers said that for the first time, one could read in TRYBUNA LUDU what could only be read in GAZETA WYBORCZA and Polish-language radio stations before. They asked who will be foreign minister. So who are the candidates? Does the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] intend to nominate its own candidate?

[Miller] I believe in speaking the truth. Today is not the first time I am saying that we must be very honest with our party and social base. I have always said so, though this was not always reflected by the media. As for candidates, we think Tadeusz Olechowski is the best candidate. If we adopt professionalism as a criterion, then there is no doubt that Olechowski is a professional of the highest order, and a distinguished diplomat who commands respect in the East and in the West. His good personal contacts with statesmen all over the world serve Poland and should continue to do so. Whatever one accuses the party of, one should not criticize its foreign policy. It has provided us with a secure, stable place in Europe. It has given Poland a favorable situation in the world, and alliances that allow a feeling of national security. Society needs such a feeling, and this feeling must be preserved. That is why we feel the foreign minister's portfolio should be entrusted to Tadeusz Olechowski, a member of our party.

[Rowinski] The next group of questions asked about our party's responsibility for the further development of the situation in Poland after PZPR representatives have joined Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government.

[Miller] Not only I, but other representatives of the party leadership as well, have been able to answer this question during factory meetings. We keep repeating that we will share as much responsibility as is the extent of our participation in the government. We wish the Tadeusz Mazowiecki government all the best, because his success will serve Poland. We cannot remain aloof. We are too closely linked to society and its standard of living. But that is also a reason why we cannot remain indifferent to the new government's political and economic program. What kind of Poland the government wants to build, how Poles will live in it, what the situation of party members will be—that cannot be a matter of indifference to us.

We carefully heard the premier's statement about his attitude toward cadres, including those with PZPR membership cards. His announcement that personal competence will be the chief factor places our cadres in a very good situation. The overwhelming majority of our cadres are competent, experienced, and loyal employees. We will watch carefully what happens to them, and we will react to any violation of this announcement. Today is a time of checking to see what people are really worth, what their character is, and what they really think of the changes.

[Rowinski] There were many questions about your attitude toward the presence of party bodies in factories.

[Miller] I think that here, too, the situation should be clear. The plan to expel politics from work places is causing much controversy. However, that cannot apply to just the PZPR. Nobody who observes Polish political life thinks that "Solidarity" is just a trade union and does not interfere in political life. Therefore we must discuss the "expulsion of politics" from work places in a way that is serious and conforms to reality, in other words we must consider every single political force that is present in work places today.

By the way, I think party organizations can prove even now that they have a constructive role to play. It ought to be in the government's interests to consolidate their role in work places. The party has never called for strikes. It has always been guided by the interests of a given factory, in other words the economy. It has called for sacrifices, which did not make it very popular. That is the best help the party and government can receive. We respect Lech Walesa's call for an end to strikes and support for the government. This is as necessary today as it was when General Jaruzelski asked for at least 90 days calm. As we know, he never got them, unfortunately.

Today, too, our party is calling for peace, which Premier Mazowiecki's government needs so much. I hope it is not just the party that is calling for it.

Miller Discusses Government With Aktivs

AU0109091689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Aug 89 p 1,2

[Report by Zenon Kulej: "Leszek Miller's Meeting With Party Members at the Kalisz Aviation Plant"]

[Text] Friday, 25 August, was the day after the new premier had been appointed. The meeting on that day between Leszek Miller and workers of the aviation plant in Kalisz described it as the second day of a "new era." The temperature of the talks was high, but there was no nervousness or frustration. The questions were frank and penetrating, especially when dealing with personnel matters.

Leszek Miller, Central Committee secretary since the 10th Plenum and Politburo member since the 13th, answered questions in great detail, although he warned several times that what he was saying was his own personal view and that the Politburo had not yet adopted a position. This applies to the following question that he was asked: Should the party be interested in the Mazowiecki Government's success, and should we do everything to keep it in office as long as possible, or should we wait until it collapses?

Leszek Miller replied as follows: The opposition is very much interested in how party members behave. There are fears that the new government might be "dictated to" by the National Trade Union Confederation, which has already shown how a government can be influenced. How will the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] behave? I think that the PZPR must think of Poland's interests first, and its own parochial interests later. Let us imagine that the Mazowiecki Government encounters insoluble difficulties. Unless they are solved, might there not be anarchy? Might not radical elements of the opposition make themselves heard? Previous governments have encountered protests from society caused by the expense of the reforms. Perhaps now this expense will be better tolerated; after all, the new government enjoys support from three sources—the "Solidarity" trade union, the Citizens Parliamentary Club, and the church. This is a completely new situation! Of course, a success by the Mazowiecki government will consolidate its previous position. But under no circumstances can we in the party adopt the rule "the worse it is in Poland, the better for us."

This explanation did not satisfy everyone. Someone recalled that hostility to the party escalated in 1980 and 1981. "Will the same thing not happen again? How are we going to defend our people?" asked Waldemar Switala, referring to a well-known part of the 14th Plenum resolution.

In reply, Leszek Miller indicated the need to overcome any tendency toward revenge or blackmail. Although Premier Mazowiecki has said that he has no intention of organizing a "witch hunt," not everything is decided at government level. Things can happen in various ways. Until now, the party has been geared exclusively to positive activity. It has called for more work, better productivity, and so on. It has never resorted to destructive activity and active protest. Yet the possibilities of positive activity exist. They constitute a source of strength. All party bodies should be infused with mutual kindness and a desire to help others. No PZPR member should remain alone with his troubles.

A lot was said about the preparations for the 11th Congress and the hopes vested in it. Leszek Miller described the main points of debates so far on the subject of essential changes to the PZPR. Andrzej Rysiowski, one of those taking part in the meeting, called for an early 11th Congress, saying that it should, more than anything else, define a new programmatic platform. All other topics, including a new name for the party, are of secondary importance.

At this point, there was a series of questions and remarks about the latest Central Committee plenum. Some people asked for the reasons behind some cadre decisions. For example, Roman Olech wondered whether the choice of Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski for party first secretary was a tactical error. After all, he said, the opposition had threatened to place him before the State Tribunal when he was still premier. They know that such a move would hit the party hardest.

Leszek Miller replied that the result of the voting at the 13th Plenum proves that the Central Committee was not unanimous at all on the subject of personnel matters. The plenum had also suggested other candidates for first secretary, for example Orzechowski and Kwasniewski, but during consultations, as many as 44 voivodship aktivs out of the 49 present supported Rakowski. It is significant that the idea of placing Rakowski's government before the State Tribunal appeared in GAZETA WYBORCZA the day before the plenum. This can be considered an attempt by the opposition to influence a plenum decision. After all, L. Miller continued, it is no secret that from the point of view of the former opposition, Rakowski was not the ideal choice for party chief. He is an experienced politician, a man of strong temperament and militancy. The Central Committee decided that that was the sort of man who should now be at the head of the party.

As for an eventual showdown before the State Tribunal, it was planned to take into account the entire 45 years since the war, not just the 9 months in which the Rakowski Government was in power. I am sure the government has many arguments in its favor. Let me give an anecdote to illustrate my point. During the election campaign, "Solidarity" recorded a talk between Minister M. Wilczek and R. Bugaj, an opposition expert. Those who had so often accused government television of "manipulation" hid the tape deep and prevented its screening...

Leszek Miller answered in detail many questions about the formation of the new government, although, to be honest, he could not answer every one, for example who is going to be foreign minister. However, he laid the greatest stress on the need for the party to "raise its head high" in its activity under the new conditions. About 4 million people voted for our candidates to the Senate in the election, 1 million voted for the United Peasants Party, and about 8 million voted for party candidates on the national list. Several million Poles did not vote at all, despite the psychological pressure applied against them. We may seek support among this electorate. Not for a moment can the party lose touch with them.

PZPR's Wiatr Meets FRG Bundestag Officials

LD0309214289 Warsaw PAP in English
1842 GMT 3 Sep 89

[By PAP correspondent Eugeniusz Guz]

[Text] Bonn, Sept. 3—Secretary of the PUWP [Polish United Workers' Party] CC, Sejm Deputy and Member of the Sejm Foreign Committee Slawomir Wiatr is staying in the FRG on his first trip to a Western country as a representative of the newly-elected party leadership.

Apart from participating in local observances of the 50th anniversary of the Nazi aggression on Poland, Wiatr met with Secretary of the FDP Floor Group in the Bundestag Thoresten Wolfgram to discuss the situation in Poland in the context of Polish-West German relations. The sides agreed that the contacts needed prompt intensification.

On Saturday, the Polish visitor and Vice-President of the SPD Floor Group in the Bundestag Horst Ehmke assessed the political situation in Poland and in the FRG. They also discussed further prospects of cooperation between their parties and touched upon the current Polish-West German Issues.

Rakowski Meets Belgian Official, SPD's Rau

LD3108230989 Warsaw PAP in English
2115 GMT 31 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 31—PUWP CC [Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee] First Secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski today received Guy Spitaels, chairman of the Belgian Socialist Party (French-speaking wing) and vice chairman of the Socialist International and chairman of the Socialist Group in The European Parliament, now in Poland at the invitation of the PUWP CC.

During talks, the two attached much attention to the political and socio-economic situation of Poland, to problems of the development of socialist parliamentary democracy and an assessment of the processes taking place in Poland. Views were exchanged on the prospects of developing cooperation between the two parties.

The Belgian guest was received by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz and Minister of State at the President's Office Jozef Czyrek. Spitaels also held talks with chairman of the PUWP Parliamentary Floor Group and PUWP CC Political Bureau member Marian Orzechowski and deputies, CC Secretaries Marcin Swiecicki and Marek Krol. Guy Spitaels also met with chairman of the Citizen's Floor Group Bronislaw Geremek.

During his visit to Poland, Spitaels visited Krakow and Auschwitz where he laid flowers.

Today, PUWP CC First Secretary Rakowski received Vice Chairman of the SPD, Land Premier of North Rhine-Westphalia in the FRG, Johannes Rau. Rakowski briefed him on the current socio-political situation in Poland and the role played by the PUWP in democratization processes.

Following their meeting, Rakowski and Rau met with newsmen. Rau stated that he wanted to hear an assessment of the current situation in Poland from Rakowski and that he received much additional valuable information.

Rakowski expressed satisfaction at the meeting with the premier of North Rhine-Westphalia, stating that Rau had always closely followed the situation in Poland.

The PUWP CC first secretary also received a delegation of the Green Party from the FRG headed by vice chairman of the party Ralf Fuechs and co-chairman of the Green Floor Group in the Bundestag Antje Vollme. During the talks the guests took interest in the political and economic situation of Poland. Joint interest was expressed in continuing dialogue between both parties.

Rakowski also received a delegation of the SED CC headed by Bernhard Quandt, a member of the Central Committee and Council of State of the GDR. The delegation took part in observances of the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War Two.

During a friendly meeting, the sides briefed each other on the current socio-political situation in Poland and the GDR.

The PUWP CC first secretary also received the Chairman of West Berlin's SPD, West Berlin's Mayor Walter Momper. The talks focused on the current situation in Poland.

SED Delegation Meets With PZPR's Rakowski

LD3108173389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1636 GMT 31 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, (ADN)—Today a delegation headed by Bernhard Quandt, member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee [SED CC] and of the GDR State Council arrived in Warsaw at the invitation of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee [PZPR CC] to participate in the events marking the 50th anniversary of the fascist attack on Poland and the unleashing of World War II which is connected with it. Members of it [the delegation] are members of the SED CC Christa Zellmer, first secretary of the Frankfurt/Oder Area (Bezirk) Executive, and Helene Berg.

On the same day the guests were received for friendly talks by Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR CC. The interlocutors expressed their firm determination to further deepen the close cooperation between the SED and the PZPR. Thus the parties are making an important contribution toward the development of the traditional friendship between the two neighboring states and peoples at the Oder-Neisse frontier as well as toward the maintaining and consolidation of peace in Europe.

KPN Holds March, Rally in Warsaw

LD0309191289 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 3 Sep 89

[Text] Members and sympathizers of the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] have marched through the streets of Warsaw today.

After the Mass celebrated at Holy Trinity Church in the Solec district on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the KPN, the delegations from different rallies formed a procession of several hundred people and marched to Castle Square, where the rally was held.

Next the procession moved on to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, where flowers were laid and the ideological declaration of the KPN of 10 years ago was read.

Calls for Amendments to Constitution

AU0109162089 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 29 Aug 89 p 2

[Anna Bikont report: "What to Change in the Constitution?"]

[Text] Janina Zakrzewska has presented to the presidium of the Citizens Parliamentary Club the propositions put forward by the Senate Commission on the Constitution. The present Constitution can be described as being the cause of everything that subsequently went wrong. It was elaborated in 1952 and was later supplemented by incoherent amendments. The present Sejm must adopt a new constitution. In the meantime, we are proposing ad hoc constitutional amendments which consist of minor legal amendments which should have been implemented after the "roundtable," as well as changes that are of a more symbolic nature.

After the discussion it was decided that the following changes were necessary:

—The deletion of the article stating that the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] is the leading political force (Article 3, section 1);

—The deletion of the article stating that the alliance between the PZPR, the United Peasant Party [ZSL], and the Democratic Party [SD] is the basis for the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] (Article 3, section 2);

This article gives grounds for an interpretation that political parties not mentioned here are unconstitutional;

—The deletion of the article stating that the state has a monopoly of foreign trade (Article 11, section 4)—this has not been the case for a long time;

—The inclusion of an article granting the Sejm supervision powers over the people's councils. According to Article 32, the supervision over these councils belongs to the Council of State. The last constitutional changes transferred this competence to the president.

—The addition of clarifying words relating to the right of citizens to associate themselves in political, or sporting organizations, and so on and so forth; and political parties (Article 84, section 2).

Throughout the discussion the same question dominated the proceedings, namely, why were these changes and not others thought to be important, and how best could one explain these to public opinion?

Changing the Constitution without changing alliances was the problem that worried Jacek Kuron who was thinking of the 1976 amendments which talked of the alliance with the Soviet Union. The question of whether or not to touch on the problem of alliances dominated a large part of the discussion.

Jan Rokita mentioned that, from the point of national honor, the present Constitution is an insult; from the point of law, it is a monstrosity and an oddity; from the point of substantive politics, it is a document devoid of all meaning, as the point on the monopoly on foreign trade shows. He expressed the opinion that it really was not worth the club's time to consider these amendments, adding that proposals for change would soon start flowing in from other clubs, and that would be the appropriate time to join the discussion.

Henryk Wujek disagreed with this attitude. He stated that it was important to put forward an amendment deleting Article 3. Its effect would be to end PRON's financial aid from the Sejm budget. It was worth releasing these funds, and worth freeing the various premises currently occupied by PRON and placing them at the disposal of, for example, citizens committees.

Bronislaw Geremek stated that the Constitution had been radically changed by the course of recent events, nevertheless that does not mean that these proposals are unnecessary. The matter of deleting the amendments introduced in 1976 would receive widespread popular support. He believed that in the matter of these constitutional changes he could count on the deputies to act sensibly. It was not the clubs intention to create something totally new, but to create new facts.

When we present the proposal, explained Geremek, we must clearly state that, although the matter of adopting a new constitution is extremely pressing, in the meantime we, in agreement with the other clubs—it would be good to have joint action in this matter with the PZPR, the ZSL, and the SD—are calling for immediate changes to be made to several articles of the present Constitution.

Farmers Solidarity Publishes Weekly Magazine

LD3108175489 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1515 GMT 31 Aug 89

[Text] This [name of publication not given] is the first issue of an illustrated, color magazine published by the private farmers' Solidarity [independent, self-governing trade union]. This is the first legal publication of the farmers' Solidarity movement, and at the same time, the first weekly of the independent peasants' movement for 40 years, following the liquidation of the GAZETA LUDOWA. The editorial board emphasizes that it intends to publish a magazine on issues concerning the countryside, farming, and the trade union, but not exclusively. It wants to create a magazine for everyone, for reading in the cities also, since neither are the interests of farmers limited to their backyards, nor should the cities look at the countryside as if at another world.

The first issue includes interviews with Jozef Slisz [chairman of Rural Solidarity] and Bishop Ignacy Tokarczuk; farming journalism; a photographic report; the history of the union and of the PSL [Polish Peasant Party which existed before World War II].

Paris Paper on Government Formation

PM3108090889 Paris LE MONDE in French 30 Aug 89 p 4

[Sylvie Kauffmann dispatch: "Compromises Emerge For Formation of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's Government"]

[Text] Warsaw—A solution seems to have been found for the two posts which the Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR] and Solidarity were simultaneously demanding as key posts—foreign affairs and information—it being understood from the start that the defense and internal affairs portfolios automatically go to the PZPR. The PZPR has finally admitted that radio and television is the government's responsibility and that it is therefore up to Mr Mazowiecki to appoint the chairman, provided he guarantees respect for the pluralism of opinion. This chairman will not necessarily have a minister's rank (in the outgoing government, Jerzy Urban, chairman of radio and television, was a minister and also headed a whole series of press organs), and it is therefore likely that there will quite simply be no information minister. "We understand that the new government wishes to maintain its contact with its public and that it would therefore be unrealistic of us to try to keep control of radio and television," we were told on Monday by Marek Krol, PZPR Central Committee secretary for propaganda questions and a leading reformer. "It is natural that the prime minister should have some means of communication at his disposal." In this connection, Mr Krol said that Mr Mazowiecki should decide what formula he wants for government daily RZECZPOSPOLITA over which he now has control.

"Doubling Up the Ministries"

Solidarity made a concession by abandoning its claims to foreign affairs. "You know, the foreign minister is a presitigious position in the West, but in our countries...," Bronislaw Geremek, head of Solidarity's parliamentary group, commented with a smile on Monday evening. On the other hand, if it fails to gain the foreign affairs portfolio, the Solidarity parliamentary group wants to ensure that the chairmanship of the parliamentary foreign affairs commission is not occupied by a PZPR member. A strategy is thus emerging—that of "doubling up almost all the ministries," to cite Prof Geremek, by appointing somebody with a different political allegiance

from the minister to the post of deputy minister or number two. This idea was defended on Monday in an article in GAZETA, the Solidarity newspaper, which expressed the fear that a rigid distribution giving the PZPR a monopoly of defense and internal affairs is "a time bomb because it would mean that the same police would continue to exercise surveillance over Solidarity."

"We think that, in view of Poland's place in Europe, it would be natural for the foreign minister to be from the PZPR with deputy ministers belonging to other political forces," Mr Krol said. "That would facilitate contacts with the other socialist countries."

Solidarity also intends to give the PZPR some economic positions, although the key national economy ministries will be in the hands of non-Communists because in this sphere "a homogeneous and radical team" is required, Mr Geremek stressed. "But it would be too easy (for the PZPR—LE MONDE editor's note) to have internal affairs, defense and nothing else, in other words power but no responsibilities."

The Economic Program

On Monday morning, Mr Mazowiecki had a long meeting with the Solidarity parliamentary group during which three main problems were examined: relations between the prime minister and his parliamentary group, the government's economic program, and the principle governing the distribution of portfolios in the new cabinet. According to Mr Geremek, the question of the economic program which the government draws up is the most delicate one because the aim is to define a strategy, choosing between a gradual approach and a head-on approach. "We (the Solidarity parliamentary group—LE MONDE editor's note) think that we need a policy of radical change," Mr Geremek said; "we must be able to give some signs of improvement from the start and this improvement should relate to supplies to the big cities. Second, we must define ways of reducing or halting inflation, and this is where we must make radical decisions."

The prime minister also received the chairmen of the small parties—the Peasant Party and the Democratic Party—also in the framework of forming the coalition government. This formation should still take "a good week of preparation" according to Mr Geremek, not because of major obstacles, but because of "inevitable delays." Another 3 days will have to be allowed for the candidates to appear before the parliamentary commission. For the time being, negotiations between the PZPR and the government are being conducted by Leszek Miller, the Politburo member appointed by First Secretary Rakowski, and by Solidarity senator Jaroslaw Kaczynski, who represents the prime minister. According to Mr Krol, "the desire for compromise is shared by both sides."

Jaruzelski Attends Antiwar Demonstration

LD0109122189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 1 Sep 89

[Text] At precisely noon, the sirens of ships in Gdansk harbor announced the beginning of an antiwar demonstration at Westerplatte, where 50 years ago World War II began. Wreaths were laid at the monument to the Defenders of the Coast. Taking part in the ceremony were representatives of the supreme authorities, including President Jaruzelski. Also attending the ceremony were Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki and the speakers of the Sejm and the Senate, Mikolaj Kozakiewicz and Andrzej Stelmachowski. The ceremony brought together defenders of Westerplatte, soldiers from all fronts of World War II, young people, foreign delegations, and inhabitants of the coastal area.

Jaruzelski Makes Military Personnel Changes

LD0409194789 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 4 Sep 89

[Text] As a result of the proposal by the minister of national defense, General Wojciech Jaruzelski the president and chief of the armed forces, has made personnel changes in the posts of commanders of military districts of some kinds of armed forces and also in the central institutions of the Ministry of National Defense. He thanked those relieved of the functions they have carried out up to now for their devoted service and wished them success in carrying out other tasks placed before them.

In connection with the (?rotation) aimed at lowering the age of the staffing of the key positions in the armed forces, the president, in the presence of the minister of national defense, appointed Major General Zbigniew Zalewski to the post of commander of the Pomeranian military district, Major General Tadeusz Wilecki to the post of commander of the Silesian military district, Lietenant Geneal Zdzislaw Stelmaszuk to the post of commander of the Warsaw Military district, and Major General Jerzy Gotowala to the post of Air Force commander. In addition to this the president has accepted the appointments of Lieutenant General Jan Kuriata to the post of chief quartermaster, Lt Gen Henryk Szumski to the post of first deputy to the chief of the General Staff, Major Gen (Edmund Poloczuk) to the post of chief of the combat training main board, and Maj Gen (Franciszek Puchara) to the post of deputy to the operational chief of staff.

Congratulating and conveying best wishes to those newly appointed, the president expressed his conviction that their personal characters and high qualifications, as well as their professional experience, would favor the further improvement of the functioning of the Polish Armed Forces to the levels of contemporary needs.

Jaruzelski Receives Resistance Federation Leaders

LD0409231289 Warsaw PAP in English 2124 GMT 4 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 4—President Wojciech Jaruzelski met today with members of the General Council of the International Resistance Federation FIR who held a solemn meeting here to mark the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of the Second World War.

FIR President Arialdo Banfi acquainted Jaruzelski with the organization's work for disarmament and peace.

Jaruzelski Spokesman's News Conference

AU0109155389 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 30 Aug 89 pp 1,2

[Text] PAP—The first news conference by the Polish president's press spokesman, Wlodzimierz Lozinski, took place in Warsaw on 29 August. Wlodzimierz Lozinski is also head of the Press and Information Team of the President's Chancellery. The conference generated enormous interest from journalists, especially foreign correspondents, as illustrated by the large number of people who attended it.

In an introduction, W. Lozinski referred to the ceremonies to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II in our country. He said that this anniversary is conducive to thought and reflection. Hitlerite Germany's attack on Poland in September 1930 commenced the bloodiest and most cruel war in the history of mankind. As a nation we experienced this—the greatest military cataclysm in history—in a particularly painfully way. Over 6 million Polish citizens lost their lives, and over 40 percent of the Polish national wealth was destroyed. Poland was the first country to oppose the aggression with arms, thus breaking the vicious circle of concessions that formed part of the Western powers policy of appeasement. Poland was the only country that fought Hitlerite Germany from 1 September 1939 right up to the end of the war. This permitted the formation of a grand anti-Hitler coalition which in the end defeated the fascist Third Reich, and the Yalta and Potsdam conferences drafted a future peaceful shape for European and world relations.

Peaceful policy is one of the chief characteristics of the Poland that emerged after the war. The cardinal principle of our foreign policy is a consistent aim to ensure peace and security and put an end to threats of war. This is accompanied by our country's openness to all constructive peace initiatives that serve European cooperation, chiefly on the basis of the CSCE Final Act. We are presenting our own Polish initiatives and proposals for the sake of collective security. Wojciech Jaruzelski's May 1987 proposal to reduce armaments and increase confidence in Europe is a continuation of such proposals, for instance the Rapacki and Gomulka Plans. It calls for a reduction in the level of military confrontations and is designed to prevent for good the human suffering which the Poles felt so painfully during World War II.

Therefore, W. Lozinski continued, it is understandable that the 50th anniversary of World War II is going to be commemorated particularly ceremoniously in Poland. The president himself will attend many events; for example, in Westerplatte on 1 September he will deliver a speech containing a message to states and peoples. During this time, Poland will be visited by representatives of the four great powers and many countries that belonged to the anti-Hitler coalition, as well as representatives of the UN secretary general and Vatican. Warsaw will be the scene of joint prayers for peace by representatives of the world's great religions. John Paul II is the patron of these prayers. Representatives of cities that fell victim to the war, young parliamentarians, and ex-servicemen will also convene in Warsaw. We will pay homage to all the victims of this war. We shall express a desire to live in peace.

Next, a RZECZPOSPOLITA journalist asked the spokesman about FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker's message to President Wojciech Jaruzelski. He replied that W. Jaruzelski had received this message on Tuesday. It is already known, because it was released to Bonn journalists before it reached its addressee, and was also reported in the Polish press. Commenting on the contents of this message, W. Lozinski said that it contains much that corresponds to our own feelings about the past, present, and future; feelings that correspond to the European desire to build a common home, improve international relations, and establish a future free of danger. President Wojciech Jaruzelski has reacted to this message with all due seriousness, W. Lozinski said. Its contents are being analyzed, and the PPR president will send the FRG president a reply. One should also note that the message provides the conclusion, and this view is common to both sides, that the future of our relations will depend on facts. Our intention is that further dialogue should encourage as much as possible the shaping of the proper facts, which include legislation to affirm the inviolability of borders and inculcate a respect for the reality existing in Europe, concepts that are contained in the message.

These facts also include matters for which Polish citizens who were persecuted during World War II have the moral right to receive compensation, especially now that the 50th anniversary is upon us.

A UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL correspondent asked for details about the visit to Poland by Vladimir Kryuchkov [head of the KGB]. W. Lozinski replied that he is first of all a member of the CPSU Central Committee, and that he visited Poland in this capacity. He was invited a long time ago. During their meeting, W. Jaruzelski and V. Kryuchkov discussed the present state and future prospects of Polish-Soviet relations. V. Kryuchkov briefed the Polish president on the problems connected with the Soviet restructuring.

A DEUTSCHE PRESSE AGENTUR correspondent asked: You mentioned compensation for those persecuted by the Third Reich. Is the Polish Government

going to approach the GDR in this matter, and what about compensation for people who underwent forced labor in the Soviet Union?

My reply on the subject of the FRG president's statement contains a reply to this question as well, W. Lozinski said. The matters you ask about will be within the scope of the new Polish Government. I would like to forestall the work of this government's future ministers. Of course the fate of Poles in World War II is indivisible, but because the topic is connected with President von Weizsaecker's message, it has been presented in the context of that message.

Answering a question from the POLISH PRESS AGENCY asking what the president thinks of the suggestion to move up the elections to local self-government bodies, W. Lozinski replied that right now the president and many members of the state leadership are busy with the problem of revitalizing the work of representative bodies and breaking the marasmus inside many of them. This will be done on the basis of legislation which the Sejm has already amended, as well as future legislation which gives the people's councils considerably greater powers, especially in the economic and social spheres. The point is also to animate the social forces that belong to the councils, as well as their advisory bodies.

There were several questions about the organization of the Presidential Chancellery. A FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG reporter wanted to know how many people would be employed in it. Other correspondents asked for the identities of ministers of state and the scope of their powers. A UPI correspondent asked whether it was true that Presidential Chancellery employees would be recruited from the former premier's cabinet.

In reply, W. Lozinski said that the Presidential Chancellery is only just being formed, but one can already say that there will be fewer people than there were in, say, the State Council Chancellery. He referred to the words of the president, who has said that the principle of the Chancellery will be an optimal discharge of duties by a minimal number of staff. The president has also promised that as soon as the Chancellery has been formed, and this should happen in the not too distant future, he will tell journalists not only how many people employs but also who occupies leadership posts therein.

Asked for the president's opinion of the Polish primate's sermon in Czestochowa and the reaction it has caused, the spokesman refrained from comment. Similarly, when asked whether the president agrees with what the Rakowski Government said a few weeks ago about the Carmelite monastery in Oswiecim [Auschwitz], he retorted that he cannot give any comment at the current stage of developments. However, if I were to state the president's opinion, I could quote the Latin-Hebrew maxim "Pax Vobiscum—Shalom."

Replying to a question from ASSOCIATED PRESS as to why the president was absent from the Sejm when Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki was appointed, W. Lozinski said that W. Jaruzelski had given the Sejm marshal a letter containing the premier's nomination. There are no rules that require the president's presence in the Sejm or Senate. He also recalled that Tadeusz Mazowiecki's nomination was accepted by the great majority of deputies.

Asked by a UPI representative whether the president would support an appeal by Lech Walesa for a strike moratorium, the spokesman said that the president is in favor of a broad coalition of forces in the government and a broad array of social and national forces supporting the government, and that he himself is in favor of maximum calm in the country so that the government that has been created on the basis of such a coalition can exercise its power effectively, continuing the reform process and achieving a visible improvement to the standard of living.

In this connection, W. Lozinski recalled the 90 days of peace that Premier W. Jaruzelski had asked for in 1981. Unfortunately, he said, the radicalism of opposing forces prevented these days from occurring. The president would like the emergent government to receive the best possible conditions for the fulfillment of its work for the benefit of every single professional, social, and political group in Poland.

Polish-Soviet Commission Member on Katyn

AU0109140089 Warsaw KULTURA in Polish 23 Aug 89 pp 1,5

[Interview with Prof Czeslaw Madajczyk, member of the Polish-Soviet Historians Commission set up to investigate "blank spots" in the history of relations between Poland and the Soviet Union, by Andrzej Maciejowski: "Katyn Without the Ambiguities"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Maciejowski] "The Katyn Tragedy" is the first book to be published officially that deals with the tragic fate of the Polish officers who were interned in the USSR. You pin responsibility for the murder on Stalin and the NKVD. However, you are very careful about the way you formulate your conclusions, adopting the kind of approach that is associated with prosecutions based on circumstantial evidence. Is it not possible to arrive at a decisions on this issue with a greater degree of certainty?

[Madajczyk] The conclusion that I reach on the most important question is clear-cut and unambiguous. What I say is that all the evidence, both circumstantial and indirect, points to the NKVD and its heads as being responsible for the mass murder committed at Katyn. Of course, you could also be brutally frank about stating the truth, but in writing about the tragic events that occurred during World War II, I remain faithful to the dispassionate approach. That is how I treated the Katyn question, which has been reminiscent of some big open wound for decades, one that still has not healed, and there is no need to rub salt into it. [passage omitted]

[Maciejowski] You are a member of the Polish-Soviet historians commission that is meant to clear up the so-called "blank spots," including, of course, Katyn. An increasing number of people are expressing impatience with the rate at which the commission's work is progressing. What do you have to say about that?

[Madajczyk] First, 18 months ago we submitted an expert appraisal of the report that was prepared by the Burdenko Commission, which examined the Katyn question following the liberation of the Smolensk area by the Red Army in September 1943 and concluded that the crime had been committed by the Germans. Our appraisal contains quite devastating criticism and rejects most of the findings that were produced by that commission. Second, we recently provided the Soviet side with German documents from before June 1941 which show that the Germans had asked about the whereabouts of some of the men interned in the three camps and that the answers that they received were evasive to say the least. Third, we provided the Soviet side with a list of several dozen NKVD functionaries whose names appear in various documents relating to the camps in which the Polish officers were interned and to the Katyn massacre itself, along with a request that the names be checked.

So far, there has been no response to any of this material. I think that at its next meeting the commission must decide whether it makes any sense to continue with its work. If it is not possible to make any progress, then I see no basis for continued involvement in the commission when there is no prospect of formulating a joint explanation of the fate of the Polish officers who were interned in the USSR. The commission has made progress on other issues, and the groundwork has been laid for sound academic research.

[Maciejowski] Does the book set out the position of the Polish members of the commission or is it the product of your personal assessments and thoughts?

[Madajczyk] I said in the book and I would like to say once again that it presents my views. Besides, when the commission started its work, we agreed that every commission member would retain complete academic freedom to write and say what he thought on the basis of his research findings.

[Maciejowski] So what stage have we reached in the Katyn question today, now that a book has officially appeared in Poland that states quite plainly that Stalin and the NKVD were responsible for the crime?

[Madajczyk] We are still waiting for the adoption of an official position on the issue. It is being discussed in the Sejm, the church has called for a statement, and various groups have voiced views. For example, the issue was raised by the group of intellectuals who met Mikhail Gorbachev at Warsaw Castle. My book can be considered one of the voices in that choir. The issue cannot be passed over in silence. To remain silent about it makes it an even greater burden. Even as abominable a crime as Oswiecim [Auschwitz] is beginning to take on a new dimension, now that it has been fully exposed and condemned. It is, of course, remembered, but it is increasingly being remembered as a warning to future generations. The pain caused by Katyn, on the other hand, has not diminished, precisely because what is lacking is the determination to state the truth jointly.

The wound will continue to fester as long as the truth is not stated plainly and those who are responsible are not condemned. So, there is a pressing need for both sides to settle the question, and the sooner the better. I think that people are becoming increasingly aware of this, and this will ultimately result in the essential political decisions being made.

[Maciejowski] Thank you.

Poles Lay Flowers at Katyn Monument

LD0109194489 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1805 GMT 1 Sep 89

[Text] Katyn Forest, the final resting place of thousands of Polish officers and soldiers. This afternoon, flowers were laid at the foot of the memorial. A dozen or so relatives of the executed soldiers arrived from Poland. Representatives of the Polish Embassy in Moscow and of the local authorities were present. Of all those interned in the Soviet Union, barely a few hundred soldiers survived, and who later fought in General Anders' army and in the Kosciouszko Division.

After years of investigation, Polish historians have no doubts as to who committed the crime at Katyn. Soviet historians have still not officially made a pronouncement. The inscription on the memorial continues to hold the Nazis responsible.

Mazowiecki Lays Wreath at Shipyard Memorial

LD0109144989 Warsaw PAP in English 1200 GMT 1 Sep 89

[Text] Gdansk, Sept. 1—Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki laid a bunch of flowers at the monument to the fallen shipyard workers in Gdansk today in connection with the 9th anniversary of signing the August accords.

The premier also made an entry in the commemoration book which reads: "I am paying a tribute to the fallen. I am expressing the hope of the nation for a better future for Poland."

Contents of Bush Letter to Jaruzelski Published

AU0409171889 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 31 Aug 89 p 1

[Letter from United States President George Bush to the President of the Polish People's Republic]

[Text] On 29 August, Senator Robert Dole delivered a personal letter from the President of the United States

George Bush, to the President of the Polish People's Republic. We reproduce its contents below:

Dear Mr President:

I would like to congratulate you on your wisdom and bearing worthy of a statesman in guiding Poland through a very difficult period.

I returned home after my Polish visit last month full of hope in your country's future. I am further encouraged by the progress in Poland made under your leadership, in forming a government which will enjoy the confidence and support of the Polish people.

The road that Poland faces will not be easy, but I want you to know that you can count on the continuing support of the United States as Poland continues to overcome the challenges that confront it.

George Bush

U.S. Secretary Dole Favors Aid to Poland

LD0109110589 Warsaw PAP in English 0813 GMT 1 Sep 89

[Text] Washington, Sept. 1—Poland undergoes incredible changes, said Elisabeth Dole commenting for the CNN Television Network on the trade union movement, labour issues and economic situation in Poland with which she acquainted herself during her recent visit there.

Dole was of the opinion that many-sided American assistance should boost reforms in Poland and make that country more attractive for foreign investment.

Premier Receives UK Publisher, U.S. Senator

LD3108200989 Warsaw PAP in English 1745 GMT 31 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 31—Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki received British publisher Robert Maxwell today.

The prime minister also met with U.S. Senator Paul Simon. The meeting was attended by Undersecretary of State at the Office of the Council of Minister Jacek Ambroziak and by U.S. Ambassador to Poland John Davis.

Miodowicz Discusses Meeting With Mazowiecki

AU0109120089 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 30 Aug 89 p 2

[Text] PAP—Following Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki's meeting with Alfred Miodowicz, chairman of the National Trade Union Confederation [OPZZ] on 29 August, a PAP journalist asked A. Miodowicz for his impression of the talks.

The presence of our entire group at the meeting, said A. Miodowicz, was an expression of our respect for the premier and our approval of his concepts and proposals. The talk was informative, in other words the premier told us about his intentions and troubles, saying that time was the most important factor right now. We are not going to attack this government straightaway and demand that he solve the problems we talked about, such as housing construction. We liked the way he said that the state cannot resolve everything, and that one has to encourage and support human initiative. But in order to do this, it is necessary first of all to break down the bureaucratic barriers that exist even in this very building [Council of Ministers headquarters], not to mention other government buildings. We are counting on it that the new government team will bring down these barriers.

On our part, we said that we hope the government will last its entire term of office. We do not want to have a new minister of labor and social policy or minister of industry every year. Before such a minister has acquainted himself with his subject-matter, he is replaced by someone else.

Of course we were unable to do more than exchange information. Nevertheless, we did lodge a great appeal for a so-called equality of economic sectors. We asked that employees of the state sector should not feel discriminated against, for that is what they feel, and we spoke on their behalf, as well as on behalf of teachers, health employees, and pensioners.

My general feeling after the meeting is positive. The talk was calm and businesslike. No one expressed any grudges or made any accusations. May we always cooperate like that. However, one cannot forget our priorities and the fact that the philosophy and modus operandi of the trade unions are totally different than the government's. A collision of interests between us in various matters is obvious, especially when the protection of working people's interests is involved, the OPZZ chairman concluded.

General Siwicki Speech at Army Graduation

AU3108151889 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 28 Aug 89 p 3

[Speech by Army General Florian Siwicki, Polish United Workers Party Politburo member and Polish minister of national defense, at a graduation ceremony at the "Colonel Mieczyslaw Kalinowski" Officers College of the Anti-Air Defense Forces in Koszalin on 27 August]

[Text] Esteemed citizens of Koszalin!

Dear young officers and soldiers!

On this important military occasion, I would like to offer sincere congratulations to all the new second lieutenants and to all the graduates of officers colleges on behalf of the president and commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces of the Polish People's Republic, as well as my personal congratulations. I warmly welcome you, young

comrades-in-arms, into the family of professional soldiers. I wish you the greatest possible satisfaction and many achievements in defending and steadfastly serving Poland. Your joy and deserved satisfaction is shared by your friends and relatives, as well as by your superior officers and instructors. I would like to express profound respect and sincere recognition for the second lieutenants' parents for bringing up their sons as patriots. I would like to thank their commanding officers, instructors and teachers for instilling the value and qualities that are essential for the officers of an army that loyally serves the nation.

Officers, ladies and gentlemen, Poland's past has often been complicated and sometimes tragic. The historical basis of loyal service to the fatherland is reflected in the tradition of holding officers' graduation ceremonies at about the time of that tragic September anniversary. Today's ceremony is also linked to the fascist invasion of Poland, to the unequal, but courageous struggle that was waged by millions of our countrymen, to the unprecedented suffering that was experienced by our people. It serves as a reminder of the immortal message from those who fell at Westerplatte and Hel, in the battles on the Bzura, in the defense of Warsaw and Modlin, and those who fell at Kock: Never again should we be weak! Never again should we be alone! Never again should there be a war!

There is an imperative drawn from the tragic and complex experience of the past that is still relevant today and will accompany us into the future: There can be no more permanent guarantee of Poland's security than the strength of an independant state, a strong national Armed Forces, and reliable alliances. Keeping this historical imperative in mind, we have lived within peaceful borders for almost 45 years and have enjoyed a feeling of permanent security. The truth of this has to be acknowledged and valued. The Polish Armed Forces, in which you will now play your part, will steadfastly protect this priceless national gain with the support of society and in close alliance with the armies of the Warsaw Pact member states. Unfortunately, although the threat to peace has clearly diminished, it still remains real. It is true that there have been reductions in the size of military arsenals, but there has still been no fundamental breakthrough in the disarmament field: The level of military confortation in Europe remains high. The detente process that is underway and the tangible increase in trust in the relations between the states belonging to the two military and political blocs—in which we have also played our part—provides grounds for hoping that there will be an end to thoughts of revising the decisions made at Potsdam and laying claim to Polish territory in the west and north. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that while recognizing that political pluralism benefits our lives, we should be united by a feeling of civic common responsibility and agreement in our views on defense. The Poles cannot afford to accept less than what is necessary for ensuring that the state can defend itself. At the same time, as a people who experienced particular suffering during the tragic war, we have a special right to prevent a new disaster. Poland has long opposed conflicts and been actively involved in the process of building international confidence. This is borne out by the package of proposals for reducing weapons and increasing confidence in Europe that is commonly known as the Jaruzelski Plan, which is acquiring growing recognition and support from world opinion. So, one can say in all honesty that the essence of the Polish defense doctrine continues to be comprised of the concepts of preventing war and eliminating the conditions that give rise to war, on the one hand, and of maintaining our Armed Forces at a level that ensures that we can effectively repulse possible aggression within the framework of the allied defense system, the combined forces of the Warsaw Pact member states, on the other hand.

Ladies and gentlemen, Poland is undergoing turbulent change and going through a particularly difficult and complicated period. It is becoming increasingly apparent to us that the fatherland has arrived at a turning-point in its history. Whether we manage to meet the challenges of the future depends on everyone one of us, on all Poles. These challenges include consistent efforts to develop parliamentary democracy and a civic state and the need to institute profound reforms that reflect the politically pluralist character of our society while preserving internal stability and external security.

The military is and will continue to be a pro-reform force in the process of further democratizing life in our country. We are changing the internal structure of the military while supporting the changes that are taking place in the state. We are continually improving the military's structures and adapting them to suit present-day defense needs. We are making significant progress in democratizing everyday military life and reducing burdensome aspects of the soldier's responsibilities. At the same time, we are aware of the need to ensure that all soldiers enjoy an appropriate standard of living and to maintain a high level of discipline and efficient training in the Army, a force that defends Poland's security and is an element that has a stabilizing effect on the situation in the country. We believe that calm, productive service, and a responsible approach to our civic duties by all of us constitute fundamental conditions for improving the state of the economy and achieving success in creating a new type of socialist Poland.

You will shortly become commanders of military units. I trust that you will vigilantly keep watch over the skies above the fatherland and that you will cope with every complicated situation. You will be discharging your responsible service in an Army that has been reducing its size and reorganizing its structures for the past 3 years and is modernizing itself and creating better conditions for the functioning of military life.

The assertion of human qualities in military service is proceeding on a wide front, and the teaching system for

soldiers is being reorganized. This increases the importance of the officer's duty to seek professional improvement and to continually enhance his military and sociopolitical knowledge. The success of these processes will also depend on you! I firmly believe that you will accomplish these tasks, that you will display ambition in striving to achieve noble goals, and that you will serve the Army with knowledge, enthusiasm, and vigor. We are placing a priceless treasure under your care and orders—the Army's youth. In introducing these young people to new duties with which they are unfamiliar, you are turning them into efficient collectives and reliable combat groups. Remeber that the Army, which has proved itself as a school for patriotic and civic training, is now becoming a school that will prepare a new generation for living under conditions of democracy, tolerance, and pluralism, and in a spirit of national accord. Always remain on the side of those who are honest and upright, combat wrongdoing, and be ready to provide help to those who need it.

Ladies and gentlemen, on this special occasion for all of us, I would like to express thanks to our hosts in the city and voivodship of Koszalin, to all the inhabitants, for their friendly interest in the affairs of the Anti-Air Defense Forces Officers College and for organizing and taking part in today's ceremony. I extend warm greetings to the veterans from all the fronts of the war of liberation who are present here. They personify the best military traditions of serving the fatherland. Young colleagues, may you be worthy heirs of these traditions. I believe that the desire to serve our people, to serve Poland, will always and whenever you are needed be your supreme principle!

I sincerely congratulate you once again. I wish you and those dear to you good health and every personal success. May the ardor of youth, creative concern, and constant inquisitiveness accompany you, young colleagues, on the military path of serving the nation.

Swiecicki Calls for Radical Economic Reform

AU0109152089 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 28 Aug 89 pp 1,4

[Interview with Marcin Swiecicki, PZPR Central Committee secretary and Sejm deputy, by Zbigniew Siwik: "I Would Like To See Radical and Responsible Reforms" —date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Siwik] Harvard economics professor Jeffrey Sachs has just presented his program for getting Poland out of the crisis at a meeting of the Citizens Parliamentary Caucus. Were you invited as a PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] deputy, which would be a sign of new times, or as a Harvard alumnus?

[Swiecicki] I was invited along with economists from other deputies caucuses.

[Siwik] What do you think of the American professor's shock treatment proposals for bringing about Poland's economic recovery?

[Swiecicki] It is undoubtedly an inspiring and persuasively presented vision of a radical transition, a leap into a full blown free market economy. Its uncompromisingly radical character is reflected in the fact that it does not take into account any of the social constraints that exist and any of the purely economic conditioning factors in our economy. What it calls to mind is prescribing some kind of immediate draconian treatment for a patient who is seriously ill and whose condition is deteriorating without establishing precisely what illness the patient is suffering from. So, the risk of death is high. Similar programs commissioned by the IMF and introduced in a mechanical fashion have sparked disturbances and brought down governments in many countries. Over the past 15 years, two-thirds of the 130 IMF programs have ended as complete fiascoes or have required serious modifications. The IMF has drawn appropriate conclusions from this, so there is a possibility that a radical, but realistic program that takes account of our circumstances will be approved. [passage omitted]

[Siwik] As PZPR Central Committee economics secretary, how do you view prospects for the radical changes that you want in the face of a certain amount of resistance to changes that are too radical within the party itself? After all, your views seem to be far ahead of the prevailing trend in economic thinking within the party...

[Swiecicki] I cannot somehow be ahead of what I believe in. For several years now, I have been saying that there is a need to introduce a radically altered economic model, to go over to the economic systems that have proved themselves in other parts of the world. Besides, there will be an open party debate on this subject in the run up to the congress. Nobody is imposing any dogmas on anyone. I am telling you what my views on these issues are. What I want to see is the fusion of the efficiency of the free market, including private ownership, with social justice. In my opinion, the Swedish model comes closest to this ideal. However, although I think that the transition toward this kind of model should take place as quickly as possible, it must have public backing and make economic sense, that is, it must have a realistic basis for success.

[Siwik] How do you think that this kind of program could be produced?

[Swiecicki] I think that it could be rapidly drawn up by a group of experts selected for their skills and not their party membership. I think that the first statement made by the premier opens the way to drawing up a program in this way. Horse trading over who should head each economic ministry would, I fear, be at the expense of specialist skills.

[Siwik] When do you think that this kind of program could emerge?

[Swiecicki] The program should be produced straightaway so that it can become part of the program that will shortly be submitted to the IMF. The problem is not one of what should be introduced a year from now, but what should be done now, over the next few months, to prevent economic collapse. We have already formulated our long-term objectives on several occasions, and there is pretty much complete agreement on questions such as convertibility of the zloty, a capital market, or price deregulation. However, what happens over the next few months will determine whether we are going to succeed with those further reforms. That aside, the situation is becoming desperate: industrial output is falling, coal extraction figures may drop by as much 14 million tonnes, and inflation is higher than at any other time since the war. If there is no successful short-term program, the situation will become explosive, there is a danger of collapse, and democracy, which is still fragile, may not manage to survive if the economic crisis becomes any worse. If we fail with our reforms, it will impact on reform movements within the entire camp. That is why we have to act at once.

[Siwik] You recently told ZYCIE WARSZAWY that Premier Mazowiecki's government would certainly stand a much greater chance of winning the confidence of the public....

[Swiecicki] That is how I see the situation, but that confidence might also evaporate if the government does not get the bad economic situation under control quickly....

Solidarity's Frasyniuk Comments on Strikes

PM0509071289 Paris LIBERATION in French 31 Aug 89 p 31

[Interview with Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, Solidarity chairman for the Wroclaw region, by Veronique Soule in Gdansk—date not given]

[Excerpt] Gdansk—[Introductory passage omitted]

LIBERATION: Walesa has called for an end to the strikes to support the Mazowiecki government. What do you think of that?

Wladyslaw Frasyniuk: I am opposed to a moratorium on the strikes. It is too soon to discuss this for the very good reason that we do not know the composition of the government or its economic reform program. Moreover, this plan for a moratorium sounds bad: It is reminiscent of the call for a 90-day moratorium made by Jaruzelski in 1981 when he was appointed prime minister. And we must put an end to the idea that strikes are always aimed at the government. If people do not mobilize to support the government, it is because they do not believe in its effectiveness. In that case, a moratorium is worthless. There may also be just strikes, for instance directed against bureaucracy in the factories. They then serve the government's reforms.

LIBERATION: Are you opposed to the idea put forward by Walesa?

Wladyslaw Frasyniuk: It is Walesa's role to support Mazowiecki.

LIBERATION: Would you support a strike which seemed justified to you?

Wladyslaw Frasyniuk: Yes. But I would also try to persuade people that there is now some point to limiting their aspirations.

LIBERATION: Are you in favor of a social pact between the trade unions and the government?

Wladyslaw Frasyniuk: We must support Mazowiecki in a united way. But a social pact will depend on the distribution of government posts. There are two possibilities: a pact between the government and the trade unions—Solidarity but also the National Trade Union Confederation [OPZZ] (official trade unions)—or, if the Communists have a large number of portfolios, a stance by Solidarity on the government program, indicating the points which the trade union wishes to discuss.

LIBERATION: You seem to fear that there will be too many communist ministers?

Wladyslaw Frasyniuk: I see worrying signs that there is a desire to give them more than the defense and interior ministries. This is a danger. Solidarity has taken the risk of forming the government. Public opinion is aware of that, and that is why the strikes have been reduced. But it would be naive to think that by giving the Communists more portfolios, we would reduce the risk of this process and that the Communist Party would therefore shoulder its responsibilities more. The Communists will always try to undermine Mazowiecki. Decisions within the government will be made more difficult, and Mazowiecki is likely to lose some of his credibility and the public's confidence. Referring to a government led by Solidarity, Adam Michnik said: "Your president, our prime minister." I would not like people to say now: our prime minister and somebody or other's government."

LIBERATION: How many posts would you like to give the Communists?

Wladyslaw Frasyniuk: Defense and internal affairs are enough for them. But there ought to have been negotiations on that to ensure that those two posts are not given to them as a right. We must start to normalize those ministries to ensure that they are no longer taboo areas. Civilians, if possible from the opposition, could be appointed to them as deputy ministers.

LIBERATION: Why do you talk about the opposition? You are forming the government....

Wladyslaw Frasyniuk: The Polish situation is very special. Indeed, the government will continue to be linked to the Communist Party which holds the post of president (Jaruzelski) and two sensitive ministries.

LIBERATION: You were not very warm in your support for Mazowiecki.

Wladyslaw Frasyniuk: I repeat that we are taking great risks. I am young and I like adventure. I thought that a more dynamic man would have been more appropriate. Mazowiecki is a man of compromise—reasonable and consistent. I am afraid that he might be too reasonable and his decisions too vague. We now need rapid and radical measures to quickly prove that there is a real change.

LIBERATION: Are you nonetheless happy?

Wladyslaw Frasyniuk: I think that the majority of Poles do not realize that great historic events are happening to us. We are at a turning point in the Eastern Bloc's history. It remains to be seen whether we can seize it. The Communists are finished here, but we must also prevent this collapsing communism from falling on our heads. And, from this viewpoint, I like Mazowiecki because he can reduce the risks to the minimum.

LIBERATION: Do you not fear resistance from the apparatus?

Wladyslaw Frasyniuk: The reaction of the Communist Party's enterprise cells, the nomenklatura, and the OPZZ does not worry me. The problem is more that we absolutely must recharge people's batteries so that they do not sink back into weariness and apathy. To do this, we must win a very rapid victory, perhaps not a great victory, but one that is adequate to produce a surge of optimism.

OPZZ Appeals for Compensation for Price Hikes

LD0409193289 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 4 Sep 89

[Statement issued by the secretariat of the Executive Committee of the National Trade Union Accord, OPZZ; date, place not given]

[Text] Economic chaos is increasing. Prices are going up at an alarming rate. Polish families are living less and less well with every passing day. The indexation system at present in force—which was to protect workers from the consequences of price rises—has broken down completely. What one calls allowing market forces to influence the food economy has caused a spiraling increase in prices without any improvement in market supply. Basic food articles are becoming unobtainable for many of the public. Little islands of prosperity are becoming stronger and areas of poverty and destitution are spreading. The public's patience is almost exhausted. The government, on the other hand, is a passive observer of events.

The process of forming the new government is taking far too long. The drawn-out negotiations between the various political forces are deepening the progressive disintegration of the economy. The consequences of all this are being borne by Poles who maintain themselves by their hired-out-labor and by the pensions and annuities they have worked for.

That is why we are appealing—this time to the new premier—for the government to undertake negotiations regarding the amount of compensations which would correspond to the real increase in prices. The Secretariat of the OPZZ Executive Committee believes that in the circumstances obtaining today this sum should be at least Z40,000.

Once again we call upon NSZZ [Independent, Self-governing Trade Union] Solidarity to join in these talks.

Thank you for your attention.

OPZZ Statement on 1980 Trade Agreements

LD2908202689 Warsaw PAP in English 1828 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 29—In connection with the anniversary of the August 1980 agreements, the secretariate of the Executive Committee of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions OPZZ issued a statement that reads in part:

"August 1980 showed that the workers protest can pave a new road in the development of our socialist state. Our trade unions recognized the then signed agreements as the main element of our programme. In the first documents we put down that our goal is socialism without distortions. Today, on another anniversary of August 1980, we think this motto still topical.

"Our country has undergone changes initiated by August 1980. We can speak in a loud voice about all questions concerning working people. However, just like it was 10 years ago, Polish people are upset and uncertain as to their future.

"Trade unions will defend employees' rights, will exert pressure on the state administration to secure better living and working conditions. We cannot be satisifed with the present situation.

"The authority, the new government can count on people's support only when it takes into account vital interests of the working people. They are specified in the August agreements."

Klaczynski on Importance of Libyan Relations

LD3108120689 Warsaw PAP in English 1010 GMT 31 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 31—Answering a question by PAP reporter about the assessment of Polish-Libyan relations in connection with the 20th anniversary of the revolution of September 1, Foreign Ministry's Press Spokesman Wladyslaw Klaczynski conveyed the following statement:

"Over the past twenty years, Libya has become Poland's leading partner among Arab and African countries. This concerns particularly economic cooperation. Last year, the value of the exports of Polish goods and services to that country amounted to 230 million dollars. Many Polish enterprises employing over 6,000 polish workers have been operating in Libya for many years and scientific cooperation has been developing well.

"We attach great important to further development of mutually beneficial cooperation with Libya and see considerable opportunities in this respect. The will to make full use of them was declared during the top-level talks in Tripoli in December 1985.

Rau Calls for Better Relations With Poland

AU0409172589 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 31 Aug p 2

[PAP report of news conference given by Johannes Rau, premier of North Rhine-Westphalia and deputy chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany: "We Want To Remove All Those Things That Hinder Our Mutual Relations"—on 30 August, place not given]

[Excerpts] "Anyone who a year ago would have said that Poland would have a government formed by Tadeusz Mazowiecki would have been thought as fantasizing. We have to help this government, and I shall be pressing Western politicians to do so," said Johannes Rau at his press conference on 30 August. He is currently in Poland in connection with the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II. (passage omitted)

"September 1939 has historically tied our two peoples together" he continued. "This was the beginning of the suffering, and not only in Poland. The German people also suffered badly. I have never believed in an arithmetical approach to suffering, but we must not allow such suffering to occur again, and we have to try and reduce it progressively. The policy of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] tries to achieve this by building bridges, and not only bridgeheads. I believe that the SPD has made a special contribution to the development of relations with Poland and I will try to gain more adherents in order to build better relations. I oppose those people who stir up old problems." (passage omitted)

J. Rau was in favor of more tourist exchanges between Poland and the FRG, especially in the development of contacts between young people. When asked why the FRG had introduced visa restrictions for Polish citizens and required lump sum payments for each day of stay, he stated that this was a matter for the federal government. At the same time, he also pointed out the current job market difficulties in the FRG and the problems of insuring workers. The question of the visa requirements could not be treated in isolation from the problem of the large number of Poles arriving in the FRG and intending to stay for a longer time. Personally, he was against the daily payment of DM50 required from Polish citizens, but he was not able to comment on the complete withdrawal of visa requirements.

Michnik Holds Talks With French Prime Minister

LD2?08200689 Warsaw PAP in English 1700 GMT 31 Aug 89

[By PAP Correspondent Robert Bielecki]

[Text] Paris, Aug. 31—French Prime Minister Michel Rocard received here today editor-in-chief of GAZETA WYBORCZA, Deputy Adam Michnik and Hungarian political activist Laszlo Rajk, son of well-known Hungarian political Activist Laszlo Rajk murdered during the Stalinist era. The meeting was held in connection with the 200th anniversary of the proclamation of the declaration of rights of man and citizen.

Leaving the residence of the prime minister after almost a three-hour talk Michnik told journalists that it focused on the future of Europe, democratic ideas as well as on French financial assistance for Poland. Adam Michnik conveyed to the French prime minister greetings from Lech Walesa, Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Bronislaw Geremek.

Poland, UAE Establish Diplomatic Relations

LD0409194389 Warsaw PAP in English 1804 GMT 4 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept 4—Here is a communique issued by Poland's Foreign Ministry:

"Guided by the mutual will to strengthen and develop friendly relations and cooperation between both countries, the Governments of the United Arab Emirates and Polish People's Republic resolved to establish diplomatic relations between both states on the ambassadorial level as of September 4th, 1989."

Bulgarian Ecological Group Visits 25-30 Aug

LD3008182789 Warsaw PAP in English 1725 GMT 30 Aug 89

[Text] Krakow, Aug. 30—A five-strong delegation of leaders of the Bulgarian independent ecological movement "Ecoglasnost" paid a visit here on August 25 to 30 at the invitation from the Polish Green Party.

The Bulgarian movement, acting informally since April, seeks official registration.

The parties discussed, among other things, role of indepedent ecological movement during the forthcoming conference of the states-signatories of the CSCE Final Act due in the second half of October in Sofia. The conference is to consider environmental protection.

AIDS Out of Control, Doctor Warns

AU0109154489 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 29 Aug 89 p 3

[Doctor Maria Pankowska article: "AIDS—The Money Must Be Forthcoming"]

[Text] After reading Jan Kwasowski's article "Do Not Touch the Corpse" (GAZETA WYBORCZA number 63) I felt the need to write as a doctor who has everyday contact with the carriers of the HIV virus which leads to AIDS.

It is sad to relate that the HIV carriers are most discriminated against by the health service. In hospitals they are refused certain diagnostic services (X-ray's, blood tests, and so on). They are not admitted to hospitals, doctor's surgeries, or dentists' surgeries, and if by some chance they are admitted, they are treated very badly and gotten rid of as soon as possible.

The only AIDS ward in Warsaw's hospital for contagious diseases, consisting of only six beds for patients suffering from this disease, has now virtually closed down. All the doctors have refused to work there, and the ward is now being run solely by the ward physician who will only be there until 15 October. What is to happen then? An outpatients AIDS clinic was supposed to have been opened in Warsaw on 1 August, but we shall be lucky if it opens before Christmas.

Hospital laundries are refusing to accept drug addicts' laundry, and it is often the case that staff who work with drug addicts are not allowed to enter other wards.

When they throw out confirmed HIV carriers of the disease from the hospital, the medical staff often forget that some of the remaining patients are those who have become infected with the virus.

Can we be surprised by the subsequent reaction of these rejected patients (young people, children)? Rejected, chased away, harried, badly treated in hopitals, refused medical help and simple human kindness, they react agressively against their environment, and when they do go and see a doctor they do not disclose the fact that they are carriers.

The authorities responsible for the health service were warned about this danger 3 years ago by, among other people, venereologists, who said that once the virus entered the drug community, the disease would spread like wildfire, which is exactly what happened.

Limiting information on AIDS among drug addicts, or treating it in an alarmist way is simply misinformation. Society's lack of honest information causes fear, and fear causes agression.

We must inform people about this disease in a thorough, consistent, and sensible way. No special means are needed for this. It is also necessary to provide adequate training for the relevant medical personnel. Their knowledge about the disease is virtually zero.

An absolutely fundamental condition is to ensure an adequate supply of equipment, for example, needles, syringes, protective glasses, and surgical gloves of reliable quality. One of our surgeons has remarked that he would rather have western manufactured condoms on his fingers than wear Polish surgical gloves. The money must be found to produce these basic nescessities.

I believe that somebody " high up" in authority will eventually recognize that the AIDS threat must be classed as an absolute priority. We also hope that our work "down below" will not be hindered. It is quite possible that the few people still interested in working with these patients will give up completely.

I imagine that my use of the word "priority" will cause a veritable storm, because our whole health service is a "priority need" case. With AIDS, however, we are dealing with a deadly disease, and this makes it a priority among priorities.

It must be stressed that the "vicious virus" of HIV which causes AIDS does not fly and does not bite by itself. One can "live" with the virus, be it in the same apartment, within the family, or in hospital. One only has to know the essentials about the virus and have the required material resources and observe the basic principles of prevention and hygiene.

The drug addict community is being infected by AIDS at an alarming rate. Every week we learn of new HIV carriers, and this is only the tip of the iceberg. The medical profession is helpless in such a situation. What else can we do for these people other than to assure them that "we are with them"?

Leaders' Public Appearances 24-28 Aug

AU0109173389

[Editorial report] The Polish press monitored from 24 to 30 August reports the following appearances of Polish leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

President Wojciech Jaruzelski received Tadeusz Popiel, chairman of the Society of Polish Surgeons, on 24 August. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Aug 89 pp 1, 2), and received Bohdan Wawrzyniak, chairman of the Polish Foundation for Personnel Advancement, on 25 August. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26-27 Aug 89 pp 1, 2) He received Adam Lopatka, first president of the Supreme Court, on 28 August. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Aug 89 p 1)

Leszek Miller, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], met with party aktivs of the Polish aviation plant in Kalisz on 25 August. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26-27 Aug 89 p 1).

Marian Orzechowski, Politburo member, met withj party aktivs of Bielsko-Biala on 28 August. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Aug 89 p 1)

Gabriela Rembisz, PZPR member, met with workers of the Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Plant in Ostrow on 24 August. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Aug 89 p 2)

Delegation's Mandate to Vienna, Geneva Discussed

AU0509071889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1945 GMT 4 Sep 89

["The Mandates of the Romanian Delegations to the Vienna Talks and the Geneva Conference"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 04/09/1989—The Executive Political Committee endorsed proposals relative to Romania's participation in the Vienna talks on armed forces and conventional weapons and new confidence and security building measures in Europe, held over September 4-December 21.

The Executive Political Committee agreed that with their mandate as a basis the Romanian delegation should actively promote Romania's stance and the considerations and initiatives of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], president of Romania, on fundamental issues related to disarmament and the building of security on the European Continent.

Working in the spirit of Socialist Romania's constructive foreign policy, the Romanian delegation will make its full contribution to the smooth run of the Vienna talks, to the its conclusion with positive results, to the adoption of measures to radically cut back on conventional weapons, on troops and military spending, to build security and confidence and to strengthen cooperation in Europe.

The Executive Political Committee also approved of the proposals concerning Romania's participation in the third conference to examine the implementation of the treaty banning the siting of nuclear weapons and of other arms of mass destruction on the sea and ocean floors, to be held in Geneva over September 18-29.

The Romanian delegation will work, according to its mandate, for the adoption by the conference of documents to open prospects for palpable steps towards terminating the arms race, achieving disarmament and completely eliminating and banning arms of mass destruction and nuclear, chemical and other weapons in all media.

PEC Discusse Preparations for 14th Congress

AU0509072289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1949 GMT 4 Sep 89

["Questions Related to the Preparations of the Fourteenth RCP Congress"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 04/09/1989—Discussing a number of questions related to the appropriate preparation of the Fourteenth Congress of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] in its September 4 meeting the Executive Political Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP analysed and endorsed a report on the improvement of the structure of party organizations in enterprises, institutions and farming units. For the creation of strong party organizations in all areas and sectors of activity, for the continuous strengthening of the leading political role of the party, of the capacity of party organizations to mobilize all working people to the exemplary fulfillment of the plans and programmes for the country's economic and social development, the structure of party organizations in enterprises, institutions and farming units was examined.

On the basis of the conclusions drawn from that analysis and in consideration of the existing numerous party groups with a small number of communists, the Executive Political Committee decided that, in order to strengthen the activity, the creation of like groups should be restricted to special areas and situations for short terms. Furthermore, the number of small party organizations should decline and strong organizations be created. At the same time, it was agreed to improve the organization of party committees which are to be set up only in large enterprises, institutions and farming units, where more than 200 party members exist.

Furthermore, palpable measures were set to improve the social composition of party bodies, the rise in the weight of workers, farmers and women in party bureaus and committees.

With those orientations as a basis, a number of provisions of the party statute and the resolution of the CC of the RCP on the structure of party organizations in enterprises, institutions, farming units, residential districts and villages will be amended.

In connection with the proper preparation of the fourteenth congress, the party general secretary, Nicolae Ceausescu, requested that SCINTEIA and the other leading and local newspapers, the radio and the television should open special columns and services to discuss the documents of the congress and the programmes for the socioeconomic development of each county, of each locality, to highlight the proposals and suggestions made by communists and working people to thus contribute to the completion of those programmes, to the elaboration of the resolutions to be adopted by the great forum of Romanian communists.

It was pointed out that in the period until the fourteenth congress the party bodies and organizations should take every step to strengthen the revolutionary spirit and the sense of responsibility, to safeguard and develop socialist property, to augment the national wealth the whole people's asset so that the important even in the life of the party and of the country should be welcomed with the best possible results in the fulfillment of socioeconomic targets, of the party programme for the building of the multilaterally developed socialist society in Romania and its advance to communism.

Nonaligned Day, Belgrade Meeting Noted

AU0109200489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1841 GMT 1 Sep 89

["The Nonaligned Movement—An Active Factor in the Present-Day World"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 01/09/1989—The world public opinion, the Romanian people celebrate the Nonalignment Day on 1 September, which marks the foundation of the Nonaligned Movement 28 years ago. For Romania, for the Romanian people, this anniversary is an opportunity to reiterate their feelings of friendship and solidarity with the peoples and countries members of the Nonaligned Movement. President Nicolae Ceausescu has recently stressed that Romania is highly appreciative of the role the Nonaligned Movement plays in the settlement of the serious problems of our day, in the assertion of a new, democratic policy of freedom and independence, of respect for each people's right to freely choose its socioeconomic development path.

Over the years Romania has permanently been on the side of the nonaligned countries and developed broad relations of collaboration with them. A decisive contribution to strengthening the ties between Romania and the nonaligned countries has been made by the meetings and talks of the Romanian party and state leader with leaders of the nonaligned countries. The decision made at the 1976 summit which granted Romania the status of permanent invited guest to the meetings and activities of the Nonaligned Movement is a telling expression of the so good relations established between Romania and the nonaligned countries, an acknowledgement of the justness and realism of the policy of peace and broad international collaboration Romania has been promoting.

The Nonalignment Day precedes this year the nonaligned states' summit due in Belgrade over 4-7 September. Owing to the items on its agenda and the great number of participating states, the conference will be a particularly important event in the international life.

An illustration of the deep-going revolutionary transformations—political, economic and social—that occurred in the post-war period, the Nonaligned Movement has asserted itself as a great force of the present-day world.

Certainly, there also were difficult moments in the evolution of the Nonaligned Movement, since contradictions and adversities had to be overcome. There also was a time when it "marginalized" its actions or when its fundamental aims were blurred. The latest international developments and the serious and complex situation created have called, as a highly significant imperative, for the consolidation of the unity of action of the nonaligned countries, for their growing role in solving the major problems facing mankind.

In the light of such desiderata it is all the more obvious how just the position of Romania and its President Nicolae Ceausescu is as regards the need for all states, developing, small and medium-sized ones in the first place, which make up the overwhelming majority of the Nonaligned Movement, to assert themselves more vigorously in the international life, in the promotion of a new, democratic policy, in the interests of mankind's peace and progress. Given the incontestible fact that the disarmament questions are of concern to all states and peoples, the nonaligned countries are ever more aware of their role and responsibility in the adoption of tangible, efficient measures for the elimination of the war threat and the ensurance of conditions for the peaceful and independent development of all peoples.

Closely related to such aims are the underdevelopment questions, the ones regarding foreign debts which affect a great number of developing and nonaligned countries, the extinction of the hotbeds of tension and conflict in various parts of the world, the peaceful, negotiated settlement of litigious issues which counterpose certain nonaligned countries, the backing of the fight for the liquidation of the last vestiges of colonialism, and the consolidation of economic and political independence.

In the spirit of its position of principle, Romania is determined to further develop ties of collaboration and solidarity with the nonaligned and developing countries, and continually broaden its cooperation with them.

CSSR Premier Adamec Arrives for Visit

AU0509102489 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1000 GMT 5 Sep 89

[Text] At the invitation of Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, CSSR Premier Comrade Ladislav Adamec arrived this morning in Bucharest on an official friendship visit to our country.

Dobrescu Conveys Greetings to Al-Qadhdhafi

AU0209182889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1554 GMT 2 Sep 89

[Text] Tripoli AGERPRES, 2/9/1989—A warm message of friendship and cordial greetings along with the best wishes of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] general secretary and president of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, and Mrs Elena Ceausescu was conveyed to the leader of the Great 1 September Revolution of the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, Colonel Mu'ammar al- Qadhdhafi, and to Mrs Safia Farkash on the 20th revolution anniversary, as well as wishes of prosperity and progress to the Libyan people.

Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi thanked and sent his friendly greetings and best wishes of health and happiness to President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mrs Elena Ceausescu, together with his wishes of success to the Romanian people on the road to progress and multilateral development.

The messages were exchanged when the leader of the Great 1 September Revolution received Miu Dobrescu, member of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP's Executive Political Committee, chairman of the Central Council of the General Trade Union Confederation of Romania, head of the Romanian delegation to the 20th revolution celebrations. The interview, the atmosphere of which was cordial, covered the Romanian-Libyan relationship and evinced the common wish to further develop it, in the mutual interest, and in the interest of the cause of peace, independence and progress worldwide.

Ceausescu Receives Israeli Envoy's Credentials

AU0409183889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1741 GMT 4 Sep 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 04/09/1989—On Monday, September 4, President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania, received Zvi Mazel, who presented his credentials as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the State of Israel to Romania.

Handing over his letters of credence, Ambassador Zvi Mazel conveyed President Nicolae Ceausescu a friendly message, as an expression of highest consideration for the Romanian head of state, as well as wishes of good health and personal happiness, of prosperity and welfare for the Romanian people, on behalf of the president of the State of Israel, Hayim Herzog, of Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir and of Foreign Minister Moshe Arens.

The ambassador highlighted the fine relations between the two countries, which have developed continuously on the political, economic and cultural planes and in other areas of activity, and expressed the wish for their further growth. Special appreciation was also expressed for the basic principles of the Romanian foreign policy, for President Nicolae Ceausescu's initiatives and actions for the establishment of a just and lasting peace throughout the world.

Receiving the credentials, President Nicolae Ceausescu conveyed the president, the prime minister and the foreign minister of the State of Israel, his salute and the best wishes of good health and successes, of prosperity, welfare and peace for the Israeli people.

President Nicolae Ceausescu expressed satisfaction at the ascending course of the links between Romania and Israel and showed possibilities existed for a more sustained growth of commercial exchanges and of mutually advantageous economic cooperation in particular, for the benefit of the two countries and peoples, for progress and peace in the world.

Highlighting the Romanian people's wish to live in peace and security and to develop friendly and cooperative ties with all the peoples of the world, on the basis of the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage, the president showed Romania to make efforts internationally for the settlement of all political and economic litigations by political means, through negotiations alone, for the ensurance of progress, security and peace throughout the world. In consideration of the conditions brought by the latest developments in the Middle East, the president said, Romania states for the urgent calling of an international conference, under UN aegis, with the participation of all the sides concerned, including Israel, the PLO and the new state of Palestine, as well as of the Security Council permanent members, to lead to a general solution, to the establishment of a just and lasting peace, in line with the vital interests of all peoples in the area.

President Nicolae Ceausescu conveyed the new ambassador wishes of success in his mission and assured him of the support of the state council, of the government, as well as of his own support.

Israeli Communist Party Leader Greets RCP

AU0109194089 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Aug 89 p 5

[Message from M. Vilner, general secretary of the Communist Party of Israel Central Committee, to the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee on Romania's national day]

[Text] To the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] Central Committee:

Dear Comrades, on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of Romania's liberation from the fascist yoke, we take pleasure in extending our most cordial and friendly greetings to you and to the Romanian people.

The important victory over fascism and the decisive role played by the Soviet Army in crushing the Hitlerite war machine made possible the successes of the courageous revolution of the Romanian people led by your party. Romania's liberation opened up the path toward socialism and inaugurated a new era in the history of the Romanian people.

Under the leadership of your party, the Romanian people have obtained important successes in all areas of socialist construction and in the struggle for peace.

We extend to all the Romanian communists and the Romanian people wishes for further great successes in building socialism, for the benefit of raising their material and cultural standard and for the general cause of peace, progress, and socialism.

With fraternal greetings,

M. Vilner, general secretary of the Communist Party of Israel Central Committee

Delegation Head Received by Libya's Al-Qadhdhafi

LD0109204789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1844 GMT 1 Sep 89

[Text] Tripoli, 1 Sep (TANJUG)—The head of the Libyan state, Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, today received Bogic Bogicevic, member of the SFRY Presidency, who with the members of the Yugoslav delegation is attending the celebration of the 20th anniversary of the Libyan revolution.

In the talks, al-Qadhdhafi highly appraised the contribution and engagement of Yugoslavia in the Nonaligned Movement, and particularly the preparations for the forthcoming summit.

In his speech at a formal session of the General People's Congress, the Libyan leader praised the role of Yugoslavia in the movement and proceedings of the ninth conference of the nonaligned countries.

The jubilee is being attended by numerous delegations, among which are 20 or so top-level delegations, mostly from Arab and African countries. The members of the SFRY delegation also held talks with the heads of individual delegations.

Iranian Velayati Visits, Comments Rushdie Case

Meets With Loncar

LD0209095789 Tehran IRNA in English 0936 GMT 1 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 1, IRNA—Yugoslavia which is to assume the leadership of the Non-Aligned Movement has pledged support for the United Nations' role in seeking a permanent solution for the Iraq-Iran conflict.

The support was expressed during a meeting between Yugoslav Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar and his Iranian opposite 'Ali Akbar Velayati here Friday.

Iranian sources said Loncar backed the U.N. secretary general's efforts for full implementation of Resulution 598 and said the Non-Aligned Movement could play a supporting role.

Velayati voiced concern over the lack of progress in the realization of real peace between Iran and Iraq and said Baghdad was responsible for the current stalemate because it had rejected U.N. proposals.

Iranian and Iraqi officials here are expected to hold new round of talks at the presence of U.N. mediators led by Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar who is attending the 9th NAM [Nonaligned Movement] summit as a special guest.

In an interview with IRNA Thursday Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister Mohammad Hoseyn Lavasani rejected the possibility of direct talks with Iraq as long as Iraqi troops continued to occupy Iranian soil.

The Yugoslav foreign minister also called on Iran's active participation in the NAM summit.

He expressed hope that Iran would cooperate along with all NAM members to breathe new life into the new movement with a realistic and principled approach towards international issues.

Confirms Rushdie Death Sentence

AU0309145689 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 3 Sep 89

[From the "Sunday at 10 program"]

[Text] In an exclusive interview to a Belgrade radio station, Studio B, Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati commented on the sentence (?pronounced to writer Salman Rushdie). The Iranian foreign minister said that there was no other way to resolve this problem but to carry out the death sentence. This is the Islamic sentence and there should be no compromise over it, Velayati said.

'No Compromise' on Case

AU0509100489 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Sep 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Velayati: There Will Be No Changes to Khomeyni's Decision About Rushdie"]

[Text] Negotiations between Iran and Iraq have been stagnating and are at a standstill at the moment. Iran is ready to unconditionally accept UN Resolution 598, Section 6 which mentions some kind of punishment for aggressors, because the world now knows that Iran had been attacked. "We also accept the latest proposal by UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar about the continuation of the negotiations, but we have been told that Iraq has rejected this initiative." This was what 'Ali Akbar Velayati, Iranian minister of foreign affairs, said last night in an exclusive interview for Belgrade's Studio B radio station.

Commenting on his country's views on the verdict pronounced on writer Salman Rushdie, the Iranian foreign minister pointed out that there is no other way to solve this problem than to carry out the death sentence. "This is an Islamic verdict and there can be no compromise. After all, at their most recent conference in Saudi Arabia, all Islamic countries supported the verdict issued by Imam Khomeyni," Velayati added.

The Iranian minister expressed hope that the coming summit of nonaligned countries will contribute to a real progress of the Nonaligned Movement and to the development of its new tendencies.

Anti-Serbian Slogan Appears on Ljubljana Church

AU0509111489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 5 Sep 89

[Text] The Serbian Orthodox Church commune and the believers of the Ljubljana Parish have sent an appeal to the fraternal Slovene people to prevent and smother the anti-Serbian religious campaign in the Slovene press which has seriously intensified and already has some elements of physical conflict.

As a direct consequence of the media poisoning the people, it is said in the appeal, a large anti-Serbian slogan was written on the Ljubljana St Cyril and Methodius Orthodox Church between 2 and 3 September.

Serb, Montenegrin Exodus From Kosovo Continues

LD0409161989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1420 GMT 4 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 4 (TANJUG)—The remaining special measures in the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo, introduced last March following the revolt of Albanian chauvinists and separatists, should remain in force, it was assessed by a Serbian parliament commission for following up on the realization of the programs in Kosovo.

In the meantime, the Yugoslav State Presidency lifted the majority of the state of emergency measures in the province but the ban on mass rallies and demonstrations is still in force.

The situation in the province is still serious and the split on a nationality basis has reached a climax, the commission assessed, reporting that 793 persons of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality have migrated to other parts of the country in the first half of this year.

Pressured by Albanian nationalists, over 40,000 Serbs and Montenegrins migrated from the province since 1981.

It was assessed at today's session that pressures by Albanian nationalists and separatists on Serbians and Montenegrins continue to be the reason for the migrations.

288 cases of physical attacks on Serbs and Montenegrins, threats and damage to their property were recorded in Kosovo in the first six months of this year. In this period, some ten or so incidents of desecration of Serbian-orthodox graveyards, over 70 fires and over 50 raids, damages and (?acts of sabotage) were recorded [word indistinct] this year's semi-annual period in Kosovo is also characterized by a large number of attacks on police and other officials, it was reported today.

Leaflets Distributed in Several Kosovo Communes

AU0109185289 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 1 Sep 89

[Text] According to TANJUG, leaflets based on positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism were found in several Kosovo communes. Leaflets were discovered in Prizren, Suhareke, Gjilan, and Podujeve. The leaflets call on Albanians to compromise Yugoslavia during the proceedings of the nonaligned summit in Belgrade, and students and pupils are instructed to boycott lessons.

Kosovo Miners End Strike Following Wage Payment

AU0109185089 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 1 Sep 89

[Text] The workers of the Trepca open cast mine at Stari Trg ended their work stoppage, having been paid their July wages last night. The third shift started work last night and the other two shifts also resumed work today.

Kosovo Teachers Strike at Start of School Year

LD0109201389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1433 GMT 1 Sep 89

[Text] Pristina, 1 Sep (TANJUG)—The beginning of the school year in elementary and secondary schools in Kosovo was marked by teachers' strikes in several schools. Nonetheless, the number of strikes is fewer than announced.

There were no lessons in four secondary school centers in Pec or at a secondary school in Istok. Teachers teaching in Serbo-Croatian at the secondary school center in Urosevac and at the elementary school in Dragas went on strike.

Teachers cite low personal incomes, and unpaid differentials and main meal bonuses as reasons for the strikes. The situation is serious in the Boro I Ramiz secondary school center in Gnjilane, where members of the collective are divided on the national basis. For that reason, political structures recommended that the competent municipal bodies initiate procedures for the introduction of temporary measures.

Lessons have begun normally in the rest of the schools in Kosovo, according to the provincial committee for education.

Croatian Rail Network Returning to Normal

LD0109152989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1018 GMT 1 Sep 89

[Excerpt] Zagreb, Sept 1 (TANJUG)—Railway traffic in the Yugoslav republic of Croatia, stricken by a two-day strike of engine drivers, is returning to normal this morning after the republican government introduced provisional measures in railway enterprises and after the

republican committee for shipping, transportation and communications reached a decision on compulsory work orders and issued and order on securing transport according to the train schedule.

The measures were introduced after representatives of the strikers failed to reach an agreement with the railway management last midnight as the government requested of them.

Although the strike is not officially over, all strikers who were this morning called to work showed up. Freight and passenger trains in the Zagreb area have as of this morning been running on schedule. [passage omitted]

Strike Ends

LD0509055389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0032 GMT 5 Sep 89

[Text] Zagreb, September 5 (TANJUG)—A six-day-long strike of engine drivers ended in the Yugoslav city Zagreb late this evening after the strikers' demands were met in part.

As announced, the workers' council of the Zagreb railroad transportation enterprises decided to increase the salaries of engine drivers at today's session which lasted several hours. The amount of the raise, however, was not disclosed.

The Zagreb engine drivers had demanded that their salaries in Yugoslav dinars each month be equivalent to the value of 1,000 DM, due to the high inflation rate in the country.

The council promised that new regulations on the distribution of income would be brought by the end of the month, which will considerably improve the status of production workers as opposed to non-production workers.

The strikers sent a telex to the federal government and the government of the Republic of Croatia MP whose territory their firm is located, proposing the lifting of the provisional measures which were introduced five days ago to secure the functioning of railroad traffic. The measures, which include compulsory work orders, were introduced in order to prevent chaos in Yugoslavia's railroad traffic.

Skopje Textile Workers Strike, Issue Demands

Call for Markovic Resignation

LD0109153789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0948 GMT 1 Sep 89

[Text] Skopje, 1 Sep (Tanjug)—The strike committee of workers of Crvena Zvezda in Skopje who stopped work this morning and joined strikers from the Progres and Mirka Ginova works in front of the Macedonian Assembly at a protest meeting, is calling for the resignation of Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, and other members of the government, because of what they call a "mistaken policy toward the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and its working class".

The Crvena Zvezda workers are demanding that the minimum personal income in Macedonia should be at least 5.26 million dinars, which is, in their view, the minimum price of the "consumer's basket" of foodstuffs. They are also calling for an urgent halt to inflation and the solution of the problem of high bank interest rates which are stifling the Macedonian ecnomy and particularly the textile industry.

Strike Continues

LD0209130889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0912 GMT 2 Sep 89

[Text] Skopje, 2 Sep (TANJUG)—This morning about 2,500 workers from all shifts of the Proges and Crvena Zvezda textile factories continued their protest meeting and strike begun yesterday. They are demanding a wage increase of 200 percent, the reduction of bank interest rates, and talks with the president of the Republican Executive Council, Gligorije Gogovski.

The strike committees of Proges and Crvena Zvezda arrived at the Assembly building this morning and are awaiting the arrival of Gogovski.

Today's protest meeting in front of the Assembly is somewhat larger than yesterday's. There are more slogans and banners, among which the most striking are: "Our children are hungry and barefooted," "Up with wages, down with inflation," "Textile workers are hungry," and "You are living off us."

Wage Increase Claim Pushed

AU0409125189 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 4 Sep 89

[Text] Skopje— Women textile workers of Progres and Crvena Zvezda plants of Skopje again came to the Macedonian Assembly building this morning. They repeated their demand that their personal incomes should increase 200 percent, which means that the offer by the representatives of the Republican Executive Council that wages should increase 100 percent was not accepted.

Protest Continues

AU0509105889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 5 Sep 89

[Text] Women textile workers of the Skopje Progres ready-made clothes factory who have been on strike for 5 days, gathered in front of the Macedonian Assembly building again this morning. The workers demand a 200-percent increase of their personal incomes. They did not accept the 100-percent increase that had been offered to them.

Borisav Jovic on Inflation, Social Situation

AU0109164289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 1 Sep 89

[Nada Zamurovic report on speech by Borisav Jovic, vice president of the SFRY Presidium, at the opening of the 26th International Agricultural Fair in Novi Sad on 1 September]

[Text] Dr Borisav Jovic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, opened the 26th International Agricultural Fair today. On this occasion, he particularly touched upon the economic and social situation at the moment.

[Begin Jovic recording] The long delay in implementing the necessary socioeconomic reforms in the sphere of the economy and in society in general, and the still incomplete implementation of these reforms have created a complex social situation which involves many dangers. This is particularly the case because the citizens' social discontent has been increasing, bringing the threat of more serious and more far-reaching social turbulences.

Massive inflation threatens economic operations, makes it impossible for us to plan development and establish the long-term orientation of economic factors, threatens the individual and social standard of living of many workers and citizens, and seriously calls into question the entire social policy system.

The reform must be carried out while curbing inflation and bringing it down, and not while allowing its endless growth. This must be clear to all those people who have taken responsible social posts upon themselves. [end recording]

Dr Borisav Jovic went on to speak about agriculture's right to be equal with others, and about the economy in general as a real force that can solve the economic crisis of our society.

[Begin Jovic recording] For example, one cannot search for hidden political aims behind the farmers revolt without realizing that agricultural production has been deprived of its accumulation for years through state policies and measures, and that this problem has still not been solved. Agriculture has the right to operate under economic conditions equal to those that other branches enjoy. One cannot deny the farmers the right to fight for their social position, just as any other economic branch or social group cannot be denied this right. The fact that farmers are not properly represented in the assemblies, and therefore have to express their demands at meetings, is the problem of the political system. They must find a place to express their desires and we must be aware of that fact.

The state must do a lot to extricate our society from the crisis, but one must by no means ignore the fact that our basic productive force lies in the economy and enterprises, and in their ability to restructure production according to the demands of the market. Only if changes in work collectives are made simultaneously and if these collectives quickly adjust themselves to the conditions of the reform, can the standard of living increase and the conditions of life improve more quickly.

However, a well-organized enterprise must be backed up by an efficient state which enables the enterprise to be efficient too, in both the domestic and foreign markets. It would be a great mistake to think that we can have successful enterprises, even if our reform of the political system does not include changes which will enable the state to reach the efficiency of those states which have a developed market ruled by the laws of commodity production. [end recording]

Parliamentary Session on Inflation Postponed

LD0109201289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1630 GMT 1 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 1 (TANJUG)—Despite increasingly loud demands from many parts of the country, Prime Minister Ante Markovic has remained firm in his conviction that no special programme to fight inflation, currently running at 800 percent, should be introduced.

During his meeting today with Parliament President Slobodan Gligorijevic, Markovic said, however, that new government measures, which are part of a programme of economic stabilization, will be introduced early this autumn. Markovic said that these will, same as the previous measures, have an anti-inflation character.

Markovic asked Gligorijevic that a session of the Federal Chamber, one of the two chambers of the Yugoslav Parliament, planned for September 21 to discuss the government measures, be put off by a week and Gligorijevic agreed.

Fearing that a transition to market-oriented economy could not be successful without urgent efforts to curb inflation, less developed Yugoslav republics have been asking increasingly frequently in recent months that the government come up with an expressely anti-inflation programme. On some occasions the demands were coupled with calls for a freeze on prices and salaries.

The prime minister persistently refuses to draft a special anti-inflation programme and says that all measures introduced by his Cabinet as part of the economic reform are meant to produce anti-inflation effects in the long run.

During today's meeting with the Parliament president, Markovic again repeated that partial moves could prove counter-productive and that the government should restrict its moves only to those which will produce lasting solutions.